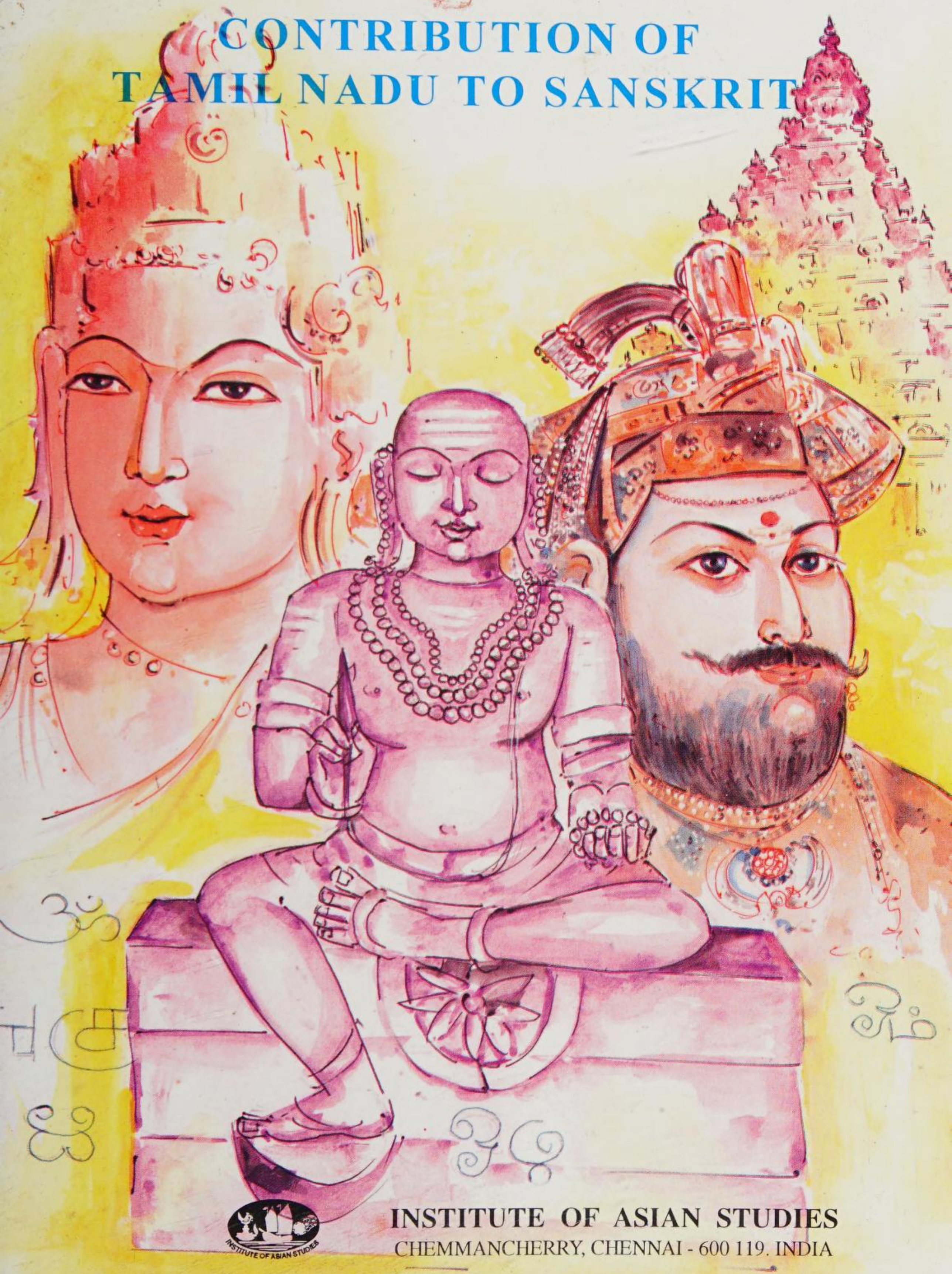
CONTRIBUTION OF TAMIL NADU TO SANSKRIT



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CONTRIBUTION OF TAMIL NADU TO SANSKRIT

by

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KEY TO TRANSLITERATION

Sanskrit Alphabet

a	ā	i	i	u	ū	ṛ	ṝ	ḷṛ	e	ai	o	au
अ	आ	इ	ई	उ	ऊ	ऋ	ॠ	ऌ	ए	ऐ	ओ	औ

	ṁ		ḥ
	अनुस्वार		विसर्ग

k	kh	g	gh	ṅ
क्	ख्	ग्	घ्	ङ्
c	ch	j	jh	ñ
च्	छ्	ज्	झ्	ञ्
ṭ	ṭh	ḍ	ḍh	ṇ
ट्	ठ्	ड्	ढ्	ण्
t	th	d	dh	n
त्	थ्	द्	ध्	न्
p	ph	b	bh	m
प्	फ्	ब्	भ्	म्

y	r	l	ḷ	v	ś	ṣ	s	h
य्	र्	ल्	ळ्	व्	श्	ष्	स्	ह्

Tamil Letters

ஏ ē

ஓ ō

ஒ ḷ

ஐ ṟ

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FOREWORD

Revered Jagadguru Late Acharya Chandrasekara Saraswati of Kanchi Kamakoti Peetam has mentioned a time about the ancient Rishis who lived on the banks of Cauvery, Vaigai and Thamraparani who have contributed to the Vedas and Upanishads. Revered Swamiji has also referred about Saints on the banks of rivers Krishna and Godavari; these details have been published in Kalaimagal and Amudha Surabi.

Late Sri M. Sundarraj, Financial Advisor to Southern Railway has done a great work on interpreting Rig Veda which was appreciated by Agnihotram Ramanuja Thatacharya. Sri Sundarraj has compared the 33 letters of Tamil language according to Tolkappiyam to the 33 Devas mentioned in the vedas. So both Rig Veda and Tamil grammar are very old nearly 8000 BC according to Tilakar. Indian culture is an amalgamation of Sanskrit and Tamil and Lord Siva according to Tirunavukkarasu has Sanskrit and Tamil as his two eyes.

Recent researches according to vedic astronomy takes us to an ancient time as back as to 10000 BC and research into this aspect of our ancient culture should be the next work to be taken up by scholars. A well coordinated research in Sanskrit and Tamil will go a long way to bring all about our ancient culture to the knowledge of the present world. Tamil

Astronomy and Astrology has a lot of information. It is on the four legs of Sanskrit, Tamil, Pali and Prakrit that our ancient civilization stands.

Now that after Karnataka's contribution, Contribution of Tamil Nadu to Sanskrit has been brought out. We eagerly expect the contribution of Andhra and Kerala to the development of Sanskrit. My congratulations to the Institute of Asian Studies for the good work.

N. Mahalingam

11-8-1999
Chennai

Editor's Note

The present volume is the second in the series: **CONTRIBUTION OF THE SOUTHERN STATES TO SANSKRIT**, a mammoth project planned by the liberal benefactor and patron of literature and arts Dr. N. Mahalingam, after the publiçation of the *Contribution of Karnataka to Sanskrit* (1997).

In terms of quantity and quality the Contribution of Tamil Nadu to Sanskrit is immense. Kāñcipuram, the greatest cultural centre in the South, a seat of learning for scholars of Buddhism, Jainism and Brahmanism and one of the seven sacred places of India, is ever remembered along with Kāśi and other *muktikṣetras*. Inscriptions in grantha script found in many parts of Malaya, Jāva, Borneo, Champa, Kāmboja, etc. speak volumes about the influence of Pallava rulers over the whole of Southt-East Asia. There is no language and literature which has not adopted the gigantic epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* into its own; and Tamil is no exception. The impact of the vast Purāṇa literature available in Sanskrit on the religious and spiritual life of Tamils is evident from a number of *sthalamāhātmyas* and commentaries written in Tamil Nadu both in Sanskrit and Tamil. Sanskrit, best known as the language of knowledge served as an important link language of the sub-continent in the early period of our civilization. The indegenous languages and Sanskrit co-existed and borrowed from each other for the enrichment of the languages. The number of Sanskrit words embedded as an inseparable part of Tamil vocabulary is a clear testimony to show this assimilation.

There has been a growing feeling that cultural historians have failed to project the true image of India by partially ignoring the contribution made by Sanskrit scholars of the southern states. Therefore, the Institute of Asian Studies has come to realise that as a research institution, it can best serve the interests of our country by bringing to light the hidden glories of Sanskrit woks in South India.

Dr. C.S. Sundaram presents here a panoramic view of the Contribution of Tamil Nadu to Sanskrit in varied branches of knowledge viz: religion, philosophy, grammar, fine arts, history, medicine, āgamas, tantras, etc. besides creative writing.

The Editor acknowledges his sincere thanks to Smt. Lakshmidevi Bhat for the assistance given in preparing the Index; to Mr. A.S. Natarajan for beautiful cover design, to Ms. K. Vimala, DTP Operator for her utmost care and patience in typesetting and to M/s. Students Offset Services & Adyar Students Xerox, Chennai for the prompt execution of the printing work.

V. Gopalakrishna

PREFACE

Tamil Nadu has been the repository of Indian culture. The literary output of this region of India comprises of contribution of the languages - Tamil and Sanskrit. Patronised by royalty, the output of literature in the different branches was immense and varied.

If on one side the literature in these languages comprised of religious and philosophical treatises, the evolution of the *Bhakti* movement, cultural activities and presentation of small or full-fledged plays in temples, on the other side the inscriptions reveal to us the patronage of Vedic scholars and the study of Vedas. Kings themselves were well-versed poets. If Pallavas showed great regard for the Vedic scholars, Cōḻas too supported them. The Nāyaks and Maratha rulers had a big role in supporting scholars and encouraging them.

Earlier the classics of the Caṅkam age give vivid pictures of the monasteries or residential places of the Bauddhas, Jains and the twice-born. These works refer to the sacrifices performed and the support of the rulers. Thus these classics abound in description of both the religious as well as the social life of the people of Tamil Nadu. From these literary sources both in Tamil and Sanskrit, we get an idea of the cultural life of this part of India.

Several families like the Diṇḍima, the Dikṣitas, the Maratha rulers and individual scholars as Uḍāli, Varadarāja, Govindarāja, Vedānta Deśika, Ratnakheṭa Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita had a definite role in enriching not only Ṣanskrit but also the other regional languages through their literary works.

On the Epics and the *Purāṇas* several commentaries were written and a few of them were translated into Tamil. The *sthalamāhātmyas* narrate the sanctity of the deity, place and the tank found in those shrines. A few of them have been adapted into Tamil. Besides these the life story of the deities worshipped in these places formed the subject matter of several *kāvyas* for eg: the 64 *lilās* of Siva.

The three main streams of philosophy Advaita, Viśiṣṭādvaita and Dvaita flowed into Tamil Nadu with a large amount of treatises in both these languages. Many works on Viśiṣṭādvaita were written in Tamil and Maṇipravāla. Tamil became the medium for Śaivite religious and philosophical works.

An attempt is made here to give a brief account of the Contribution of Tamil Nadu to Sanskrit literature between the 7th and 18th centuries. Only major works have been given, highlighting their importance and analysing the contents wherever possible.

This study has been made on such source material as Dr. V. Raghavan's *Contribution of Tamil Nadu to Sanskrit* Literature (Printed in Proceedings of the First International Conference on Sanskrit Vol. I Part. ii) as also Historical, Bibliographical and History of Literature. References are made to these sources in the Notes and references appended to the respective chapters.

It is with heart felt sincerity, I express my thanks to Dr. N. Mahalingam, Chairman and patron of this project, whose patience and generosity have given me full enthusiasm for completing this project.

I thank the Institute of Asian Studies for publishing this project. To Dr. G. John Samuel, Director for Research Programmes, Institute of Asian Studies, I offer my gratefulness for patiently scrutinising this work. Prof. S. Visvanatha Śivacarya is primarily responsible for entrusting me this project, which formed part of my Doctoral dissertation submitted to the University of Madras, I am much beholden to him.

Prof. V. Gopalakrishna took the difficult task of editing the manuscript giving a proper shape to it and feeding it in the computer. I am very much indebted to him. Also I am grateful to Dr. M.S. Nagarajan for his guide-lines in preparing the manuscript of this work.

I am thankful to the Registrar of the University of Madras for granting me premission to include this thesis of mine which formed a part of this project.

I am thankful to the authorities of New Catalogus Catalogorum, Sanskrit Dept. University of Madras, Madras University Library, Adyar Library, Govt.

Oriental Manuscripts Library, The Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute of Chennai for their kind permission to use their libraries.

I sincerely acknowledge the help rendered by Sri T.V. Vasudeva, Dr.Jayashree, Dr. M.V. Nalini, in the proof reading.

Mylapore
Chennai

C.S. Sundaram

ABBREVIATIONS

ABORI	-	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute
Adyar D	-	Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Mss. in Adyar Library
ALB	-	Adyar Library Bulletin
Alwis	-	Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit, Pali, Sinhalese Literary Works of Ceylon
ASK	-	Avantīsundarikathā
ASS	-	Anandashrama Sanskrit Series
Bib. Bud	-	Bibliography of Buddhism
BISM	-	Bharatīya Itihāsa Samśodhak Maṇḍal
CLB	-	Central Library of Baroda
DAVCL	-	A handlist of the Sanskrit Mss. in DAV College
EC	-	Ephigraphia Carnatica
Epi Ind.	-	Epigraphia Indica
FISC	-	First International Sanskrit Conference Proceedings
GD	-	A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Mss. in Trivandrum Maharaja's Palace
GOS	-	Gaekwad Oriental Series
HCSL	-	History of Classical Sanskrit Literature by M.Krishnama charya
Hz	-	Reports on Saṇskrit Mss. by E. Hultzch
IHQ	-	Indian Historical Quarterly
IO	-	Catalogue of Pali Manuscripts in India Office Library
IPC	-	Inscriptions of the Pudukottai State (Texts)

JISOA	-	Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art
JOR	-	Journal of the Oriental Research
JTSSML	-	Journal of the Tanjore Serfoji Saraswathi Mahal Library
JPTS	-	Journal of the Pali Text Society
KDT	-	K.D. Thirunavukkarasu
KM	-	Kāvyamāla
KSRI	-	Kuppuswami Sastry Research Institute
KSS	-	Kathāsaritsāgara
MA	-	Music Academy
MD	-	A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Mss. in Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, Madras
MER	-	Mysore Epigraphical Reports
MT	-	A Triennial Catalouge of Manuscripts, Oriental Mss. Library, Madras
NCC	-	New Catalogus Catalogorum
NM	-	Nandipura Māhātmya
PCP	-	Thirty Pallava Copper Plates
PR. ALS	-	Pāñcarātrarakṣā
PTS	-	Pali Text Society, London
PUL	-	Punjab University Library
RASB	-	Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta
RT	-	R. Thangaswami
RTS	-	Rahasyatrayasāra
SA	-	A handlist of Buddhist Mss.
SM	-	Sivaśaila Māhātmya

SII	-	South Indian Inscriptions
Subh.	-	Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra
Śg	-	Seshagiri Sastri, Report of Sanskrit Mss.
TCD	-	A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in Curator's Office, Tiruvandrum
TD	-	A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Mss. in Tanjore Sarasvatimahal Library
TSS	-	Trivandrum Sanskrit Series
VL	-	Veda Lakṣaṇa
VKSN	-	History of Viśiṣṭādvaita Literature, VKSN. Raghavan
VR	-	Dr. V. Raghavan
WZKSO	-	Wiener Zeitschrift Fur Kunde des Sud und Ostasien, Vienna.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The contribution of Tamil Nadu to Sanskrit and Sanskrit literature is immense in quantity and variety as well as in quality and depth. Even though the influence of Sanskrit language and literature is deeply felt even in the earliest available literature, original and independent Sanskrit literature, both pure and technical began to appear only from about the 6th century; from then onwards there has been a continuous activity upto the present time. Here, an attempt has been made to gather the rich material available from the 6th cent. A.D. onwards upto the 18th cent. A.D. All branches of literature have been presented.

It is well-known that Tamil Nadu is known as Draviḍa in Sanskrit. In ancient times Tamil Nadu was divided into three main parts: Cera, on the West Coast, Pāṇḍya in the extreme south and Coḷa, on the East Coast. During this period from about the 4th cent. to the 9th cent. A.D., the North Eastern portion was under the Pallava rule. It is interesting to note that Daṇḍin in his *Avantisundarīkathā* refers to the Pallava areas as *Dramiḷa*, as distinct from Coḷa (*paryākuleṣu dramiḷa coḷa pāṇḍyeṣu* p.12). The West Coast attained an individuality of its own as Kerala by the 8th cent. A.D. and the regional language was Malayalam. Thus that region attained a separate status and was known as Kerala. In the present volume only the contribution of the Tamil speaking area, which corresponds to the present Tamil Nadu, is described.

It is a fact that Tamil Nadu is not mentioned in Vedic literature or in the ancient *Śrauta* and *Gṛhya* religious texts. Kātyāyana in his *Vārttika* refers to the Cōḷas and Pāṇḍyas. Patañjali refers to the Keralas also. Kauṭalya is quite familiar with South India. The *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* contain detailed references to South India and reference is made to *Draviḍa*, a southern region (*Sabhāparva* XXXI, Verse 71). Kālidāsa was familiar with the customs and manners of the people of the South including Pāṇḍya, Kerala and Aparānta. The Tamil Saṅgam works generally ascribed to the beginning of the Christian era, are full of allusions and references to the Vedic culture and to the stories of the *Rāmāyaṇa*

and the *Mahābhārata*. Aśoka's edicts show his familiarity with South India, though Tamil Nadu was outside his empire. The second and the thirteenth rock edicts of Aśoka, mention the kingdoms of South India together with Ceylon. The list in the second edict includes the names of Coḷa, Pāṇḍya, Satiyaputtra, Keralaputt(r)a and Tāmraparaṇi (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1915, pp.471-75). Hindu religion and Sanskrit culture which came to Tamil Nadu, in the early pre-Christian era, had to face the onslaught of Jainism and Buddhism. These religious systems used Prākṛt and Pāli as media for the popularisation of their religion and treatises were composed in the respective languages. Thus Sanskrit did fully develop neither as a medium of instruction nor literary works produced in it. But references to this language are found in the *Tolkāppiyam* and other Tamil works of the early Christian era.

It was during the time of the Pallavas, the revival of Sanskrit and Hinduism took place. The Sanskrit medium helped in the full growth of the Vedic study and growth of Sanskrit literature. Many of the Pallava inscriptions are bilingual i.e. Sanskrit and Tamil. These inscriptions adopt an elegant and ornate style while using Sanskrit. The Pallava King, Mahendra Vikrama was himself a Sanskrit scholar, which fact is proved by his dramas. The great prose writer, Daṇḍin flourished during this period. Daṇḍin was patronised by the Pallava king Narasimhavarman (630-68 A.D.). The introductory verse of the *Daśakumāracarita* is found engraved in a Pallava inscription of the 8th Century at Amarāvati (Kielhorn's List No.1903). The Kannada poetess Vijayā (or Vijjikā), the queen of Candrāditya (eldest son of Cālukya King Pulikesin II) refers to the opening verse of the *Kāvyādarśa* and takes objection to his referring to goddess Sarasvatī as all white (*sarva- śuklā*) since the queen who claims to be Sarasvatī herself is dark in complexion.

nilotpala daḷaśyāmām vijjikām mām ajānatā /
vṛthaiva daṇḍinā proktam sarvaśuklā sarasvatī //

Buddhism flourished in Tamil Nadu with unabated vigour for several centuries and as a result this land has produced important and valuable treatises in Sanskrit and Pāli. Kāñcipuram, the great cultural centre of Tamil Nadu had long associations with Buddhism and Buddhist scholars. The most important among them was Diṅnāga, the chief exponent of the *Vijñānavāda* school of Buddhist philosophy and was the well-known author of the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* and other works and also the expounder of the *Apoha* theory. He was born near Kāñci, went to Nalandā and studied under Vasubandhu. He then rose to the position of one of the foremost figures in the field of Buddhism. Some other

Buddhist scholars as Dharmapāla, Bodhiruci and a few others though hailed from or born at Kāñci, their activities had spread out in North Indian centres like Nalandā and foreign countries like China or Ceylon. The contributions of a few of these scholars have been included here.

Jainism also flourished for a long time in Tamil Nadu, but with the advent of Śaivism in the early Christian era and also Vaiṣṇavism, it lost its moorings in this part of India, even though it flourished in the Karnataka country for a longer time.

Kāñci was a centre for Jainism also. Mahendravarman, the Pallava king himself was a strong supporter of Jainism before being converted to Śaivism as also the famous Nāyanmār, Appar. The popular and well-known *Sangams* also refer to Jain monasteries as well as to a few scholars associated with the *Sangams*. The Draviḍa Sangha was founded at Madura in 470 A.D. The important treatise on Jain cosmology, the *Lokavibhāga* was written at Tiruppātirippuliyūr in Tamil Nadu.

In the *Maturaikkāñci* there is a reference to the Amaṇappaḷḷi

vaṇtupaṭap paḻutiya tenār toṟṟaltup pūvum pukaiyuñ cāvakar
paḻiccac cenṟa kālamum varun mamayamum inṟivaṭṭonriya
oḻukkamoṭu nankuṇarntu kal poḷintanna viṭṭu vāyk karaṇdaip
pal puric cimili nārri nalkuvarak.

This passage gives a brief account of the Buddhists. They had the ability to see the past and future. They carried in their hands a *Kuṇḍika* (a pot-shaped vessel hanging from a support made of rope).

In the *Nīlakeśi* there are verses in praise of Lord Arhan and worshipping the God with the 1008 names and singing his praise. There is also a reference to Bauddhappaḷḷi in the *Maturaikkāñci.*[3] Vādirāja, the author of *Yaśodharācarita* and the *Pārśvanāthābhyudaya* belonged to Simhapura in Tamil Nadu.

The Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava reformers in South India, the Nāyanmārs and Āḻvārs, used the local language Tamil to give vent to their ardent devotion to the Lord, and for a few centuries from the 7th to 12th, their works did much to oust the Buddhist and Jain influences from the Land. Though Tamil was used as the popular medium for these religious psalms the prestige and all India importance of Sanskrit made it necessary to resort to that language also for support.

Most of the founders of the different schools of Vedanta are from South India. Though Śaṅkara was born in Kerala, which was a part of ancient Tamil Nad, (Kerala being the Sanskrit term for Cera) and we find that his disciple Sureśvara in his *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi* referring to a passage in the *Upadeśasāhasrī* and ascribing it to Draviḍa. Śankarācārya, toured throughout India and established the school of Advaita philosophy. His association with Tamil Nadu, especially Kāñci Kāmakoṭipīṭha makes him belong to this part of India. The legend about the hunter Kaṇṇappa and the deity at Kālahasti referred to in a verse in the *Śivānandalahari* popularly ascribed to Śaṅkarācārya and the reference to *Draviḍaśiśu* in the *Saundaryalahari*, a stotra by Śaṅkara, probably referring to the Nāyanmār Tirujñaṇasambandha show the philosopher's acquaintance with their legends.

There were several great philosophers about whom Tamil Nadu can be proud of. Among them mention may be made of Dramiḍācārya, Ṭaṅka and Sundara Pāṇḍya. The last one was probably a Pāṇḍya ruler and his identity is discussed in the chapter on Pure literature. Yāmunācārya, Nāthamuni, Rāmānuja and Vedānta Deśika were stalwarts in the field of Vaiṣṇavism. Their contributions are discussed in the relevant section.

The Śaivasiddhānta school of Tamil Nadu is very rich both in Tamil and Sanskrit treatises. Several Śaivāgamas as also Vaiṣṇavāgamas contributed much not only for the construction on temples, but also to the mode of worship, performance of festivals and other related details. Many a scholar who belonged to this field of Śaivism wrote several philosophical and religious works, and noteworthy literary works.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* the epics have sufficiently influenced the minds of people in Tamil Nadu. The purāṇas especially the *Bhāgavata* is said to have been composed in Tamil Nadu. There were separate halls in the temples, endowed by royalty for delivering discourses on the *Mahābhārata*. The Pallava rulers' support for the spread of purāṇas through discourses is revealed from their inscriptions. These inscriptions also refer to the support given to Vedic scholars.

The sanctity of the holy shrines are described in the *Sthalamāhātmyas*. An account of some of the important shrines is given.

The volume of pure Sanskrit literature is immeasurable. Several scholars patronised by royalty wrote *kāvyas* on the lives of their patrons and also dramas

which were staged during the festivals in temples. Several varieties of dramas like *nāṭaka*, *bhāṇa*, *prahasana*, *aṅka*, *samavakāra*, *ḍima* etc. as also allegorical plays were composed. In a section on Sanskrit and Tamil some common features as well as differences in Sanskrit and Tamil treatises in various fields are pointed out.

The abundance of literature in Sanskrit and Tamil in various branches is awe-inspiring. Only a bird's-eye-view of this rich contribution of Tamil Nadu has been presented in the following chapters.

CHAPTER II

ROYAL PATRONAGE AND SANSKRIT

Sanskrit study was well patronised by the Royalty from early Christian era, by the Pallava, Pāṇḍya and Cōḻa rulers. Several inscriptions of these Kings refer to the land gifts made either to vedic scholars or to the maintenance of educational institutions[1]. Kāñci, Madurai and Tanjore produced several famous Sanskrit scholars as also in other languages.

Kāñci was a great centre of learning. Appar himself refers to this city as

Kalviyai karaiyilāta kāñcimānakar tannuḷḷāl[2]

Such was the greatness of Kāñci. The *Ghaṭika* established in this city was a famous educational institution. This *Ghaṭika* was established probably in the 4th cent. A.D. Another famous educational Institution which nurtured Tamil scholars was the Tamil Sangam at Madurai. There were three sangams in this holy city existing even before the Christian era. From here were produced *Pattuppāṭṭu*, *Eṭṭuttokai* and several other works. Under Nāyak rulers a few scholars attached to their courts contributed to the field of Sanskrit literature. It was at Tanjore where the Nāyaks and Marathas ruled an immense and valuable contribution was made to the field of Sanskrit in its different branches as also in other languages.

Scholars of repute

To the Pallava court belonged Daṇḍin and his contribution to the field of Sanskrit is well known. His prose romance *Avantisundarikathā*, an elaborate version of *Daśakumāracarita* is one of the best *gadyakāvyas*. His work *Kāvyādarśa* was a fore-runner in the field of Sanskrit poetics. This work influenced the Tamil field also and *Taṇṭi alaṅkaram* by Ambikāpati, son of Kamban is based upon the Sanskrit work. The authorship of the Tamil version is still a matter of conjecture.

Pallava ruler, Mahendravarman I was himself a gifted writer. He wrote the dramas *Mattavilāsa prahasana* and *Bhagavadajjukīya* which are rich in humour. In these plays the debased sects like Kāpālikas are criticised.

Since the age of the Pallavas say about the 4th Cent. onwards several other scholars apart from those mentioned above contributed valuable treatises not only to the field of Saṁskrit literature but also to philosophy and religion. Among these scholars Saṅkara, Rāmānuja and Vedānta Deśika stand foremost. Deśika's works enriched not only religion and philosophy but also the *stotras* and works in Maṇipravāla. Details about their contributions will be found in the relevant chapters.

Umāpati Sivācārya was a famous Śaivite scholar. He wrote a commentary on *Pauṣkara āgama*, *Kuñcitaṅghristava* and several other works in Tamil. He lived in the 13th cent. A.D. Keśavasvāmin, was probably a resident of the Cōla country as he refers to Kulottunga Cōla I in his *Nānārthārṇvasaṅkṣepa*.[3] As per his account this Cōla king established a village of Saiva brahmins learned in Sanskrit in the Cōla country[4]. Mādhava, who wrote the commentary on the *Ṛgveda* lived on the South bank of Kāveri and his reference to *Jagatām Ekavīra* is probably to Parāntaka I.

Appayya Dīkṣita, the famous scholar whose contribution to Śaivism is rich and valuable was patronised by Sevappa and Cinna Sevappa. His nephew the famous Nilakaṇṭha Dīkṣita was patronised by Tirumala Nāyak of Madura. Dīkṣita studied under Govinda Dīkṣita[5], a famous administrator and minister of Acyutappa Nāyak and Raghunatha Nāyak. Govinda Dīkṣita established the advaita system of philosophy and wrote a commentary on the *Jaimini Sūtras* and *Kumāriladarśana* besides the musical treatise *Saṅgītasudhā*. He was also a patron of Tamil literature, as is evident from his efforts to translate the *Tiruvaiyār Māhātmya* in Tamil.

Kōvinta tītcatarāyan tiruvāḵkuṭai maiyālē .....
purāṇavaṭamoḻi tamiḻār pukaluṟṟēn. [6]

As the power of the Nāyaks of Tanjore dwindled and the Maratha rulers came to power the patronage to Sanskrit and scholars increased immensly. There were scholars who enriched the different fields of Sanskrit, besides the rulers themselves were authors of literary pieces, medicinal and *jyotisa* works and musical treatises. The other regional languages also were given fillip. King Serfoji was much interested in making a collection of several manuscripts, store and preserve them in a library. To this day Maharaja Serfoji's Manuscripts Library in Tanjore stands as a testimony to this ruler's interest in this field.

A brief account of a few scholars, of this period and their contributions is given below as a forerunner to the rich growth of literature under Marathas.

Ānandarāya makhin, minister of Sāhaji (1684 - 1710 A.D.) and Serfoji (1710 - 28 A.D.) wrote the *Áśvalāyana gṛhyasūtravṛttī*[7]. To him are ascribed two allegorical plays, *Jīvānandanāṭaka*[8] and *Vidyāpariṇaya nāṭaka*[9] and the commentary on it. But these two plays are by Vedakavi patronised by the King Tryambaka rāya (1711 - 28 A.D.), uncle of Ānandarāya. He was also a minister of Sahaji and Serfoji and wrote *Dharmākūṭa*, which illustrates *Rāmāyaṇa* as a compendium of the *Dharma śāstra*, and the *Strīdharmapaddhatī*[10]

ittham tryambakayajvanā smṛti purāṇoktir viloḍhya akhila
dharmastrī viṣayaḥ punaḥ katipaya tat tat vyavasthānvitāḥ /
saṅgṛhya atha kṛto krameṇa kathitā mātrājñayā dhīmatā
tān ākarṇya sadā striyaśca sakalā dharme matim tanvatām //

Bhagavantarāya, another uncle of Ānandarāya was the minister of Serfoji I. *Rāghavābhyudayanāṭaka*,[11] *Mukundavilāsakāvya*[12] and *Uttaracampū*[13] are his works. The *nāṭaka* was composed at a big sacrifice performed by Tryambakarāya at Svāmimalai and this play was approved by Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita. The Uttarakāṇḍa of the *Rāmāyaṇa Uttaracampū* contains several episodes as Rambhā cursing Rāvaṇa, Kārtavirya story, Rāvaṇa uprooting Kailāsa, Lava and Kuśa singing the Rāmāyaṇa are referred to in this *Uttaracampū*. The author's literary skill is revealed in the following verses.

Prito'asmyaham tava daśāsya raveṇa tena saṁpūritam
tribhuvanam sakalam cayena /
tvām rāvaṇam tribhuvane khalu mannideśāt sarve
vadantu rajanīcara Cakravartin // (26)
etena hanta vapuṣā karabhoru ! sāmyam prāptum na
śakyam iti te vadanasya Candraḥ /
vāpim gato nijaśarīra kalaṅkapaṅka prakṣālanāya
kimayam pratibimba dambhāt // (205)

Nṛsiṁharāya II[14], son of Ānandarāya and Jayanti, was a minister of Ekoji II alias Bhāvā Sāheb (1735 - 36 A.D.). He wrote *Tripuravijaya Campū*.[15]

Ghanaśyāma *alias* Caṇḍājī Panth[16] was a versatile and prolific writer from Maharashtra who lived in Tanjore. He was a minister of Tukkoji I (1729-35 A.D.). He had also the titles Sarvajña kavi, Vaśyavacas Kaṇṭhīrava and Sarasvatī. He was the son of Kāśi and Mahādeva. He had two wives Sundari and Kamalā who both wrote a commentary on *Viddhasālabhañjikā*.

In his commentary on *Nilakaṇṭhavijaya* Ghanaśyāma says that he composed 64 works in Sanskrit, 20 in Prakṛt and 25 in vernacular[17].

His contributions to the field of Sanskrit are rich in contents. He wrote *Campus, saṭṭaka, nāṭakas* and many other works. Among these special mention may be made of the *saṭṭaka Ānandasundarī*, the drama *Kumāravijaya* in 5 acts, *Navagrahacaritanāṭaka*, *Madanasañjivanabhāṇa*, and *Ḍamaruka*. His campūkāvyas are *Nalacampū, Yudhiṣṭhira vijayacampū* and *Hariścandracampū*. *Madanasañjivanabhāṇa*[18] of his was staged at Cidambaram during Tiruvādirai. A few verses of this work are given below which show his literary skill.

Sarasvati

gaḍo yadavalokanād api sarasvati jāyate samaṁ
bhajati yad yaśo navānavam digāliṅganaṁ
samādhiṣu sabhāpati lapati yena sākaṁ mitho na
tasya gaṇita guṇā bhuvi cidambara brahmaṇaḥ

(Kumāravijaya v.5)

In the same play another verse speaks of Ghanaśayāma thus:

dvaitadhvānta divākaro kila mahārāṣtraiḥ cuḍāmaṇiḥ
santoṣāya kutūhalāya ca ghanaśyāmo jejīyate

(Act I. v6)

On Sunset

manāgiva viḍambayan haridiśaṁ purāliṅgitāṁ
asāvamita rāgavān gamana sambhrama vyākulaḥ /
nitānta taralaiḥ karaiaḥ kanakapiṅgalais saṁspṛśan
diśām ahaha vāruṇīm dinakaro vitaścumbati //

(*Madanasañjīvanabhāṇa* 85)

On Love of Birds

kokītuṇḍe vitarati bisam khaṇḍitārdham sa kokaḥ cañcat
cañcvā śirasi ramaṇam hanta kaṇḍūyate sā /
tat kāle sa svapiti patagaḥ pāravaśyat tadaṅge śaṅke
kāmas sukhayati tarām antarā mām trilokim //

(Ibid)

On a Gurjari damsel

jhalañ jhalita nūpuram mṛdu jhaṇat jhaṇat kaṅkaṇam
ghaṇam ghaṇita mekhalā guṇita kiṅkiṇī jālakam /
jagaj jayāvaham mahādiva smarasya āyudham mahīvalaya
maṇḍanam jayati gurjari maṇḍalam //

(Ibid. v.31)

Alliteration

sindhum iva sindhupatim atītya velāvanāñcitam
suvelācalam ati velānandato gataḥ kapigam,
udgāḍha dṛḍha kara ˙laguḍa
tāḍanāpannāśokam visarjayāmāsa śukam

(p.12)[19]

In his drama *Kūmaravijaya*[20] which is in five acts the following episodes are described: Pārvatī born as daughter of Himavān, serving Lord Siva, Nārada giving a flower to Pārvati after infusing it with Atharvaṇa hymn. Pārvatī sees Śiva as her husband in a dream, Apūrvānurāga, Sīmanta of Parvatī, birth of Subrahmaṇya, *Garbhanāṭaka* when Pārvati was enciente.

Ghanaśyāma had two sons Govardhana and Candraśekhara. Govardhana[21] was blind from childhood. He composed a commentary[22] on *Ghaṭakharparakāvya* in 1866 A.D. We know from his quotations from the above commentary that he wrote *Rukmiṇīcampū.*[23] Candraśekhara, his brother wrote the commentaries on his father Ghanaśyāma's dramas *Ḍamaruka* and *Pracaṇḍarāhūdaya*. The Maratha rulers of Tanjore also enriched the different fields of Sanskrit literature. An account of their contribution is given in the section on literature. From the above account given we understand the popularity of Sanskrit learning and the support of scholars by royalty. Thus the continuity of the study of Sanskrit as also composing treatises in this language was maintained through royal patronage.[24]

Notes and References

1. Nilakantha Sastri, K.A. *History of South India*. pp. 320 ff.
2. *Tēvāram* (Appar) 4-43-8.
3. TSS. 232. Beg. vv. 1-20.
4. *The Colas*. Madras University History Series 10, Vol II. p.552, Madras, 1937.

5. *The Nāyaks* of *Tanjore*, Vridhagirisan, *Annamalai University Historical Series* No.3. pp.120ff, Annamalainagar, 1942.
6. Ibid. p.121 fn.23
7. MT.4177. TD. 11763.
8. (1) *KM* 27. (2) AL. Ser 59
9. *KM* 39
10. *JTSML* XXXIII. 1-3 p.12
11. TD. 4492.
12. TD. 3719.
13. *JTSML* XX. 2-3 Skt. Preface i-iv Text pp.17-28. Index 1-4.
14. For correct identity of the author see VR., *SV*. Introduction. pp. 28-9.
15. Hz. 1605. Extr. pp. 49-50. TD. 4036.
16. See NCC.VI pp. 273b-75b.
17. See *JOR* Madras. III pp.231-43
18. *JTSML* XXI. i. 1-12. ii. 13-28. iii. i-vi (Intro)
19. *Yuddhakāṇḍacampū JTSML* XXVII. i-iii. pp. 9-24.
20. *JTSML* XXXI. i. 1-16. ii-iii. 17-54
21. *JOR*. Madras III. p.236
22. Ujjain II.p.30
23. CC. I p.527b
24. Nilakanta Sastri, K.A. *History of South India* pp. 341-365.

CHAPTER III

VEDAS, UPANIṢADS, DHARMASŪTRAS

Introduction

The Saṅgam classics, the earliest available works in Tamil give us an account of the Vedic studies and patronage by kings belonging to that period. We come across references to the reciting of *Vedas*, at times accompanied by musical instruments, descriptions of cottages of Brāhmins, the esteem shown to them and also the sacrifices performed by kings. These references clearly bring out the impact of Vedic religion in Tamil Nadu.

Knowledge of the *Vedas*, performance of sacrifices, observance of duties based upon *varṇa* and *āśrama* are indicated in the following verses:

eruvai mukarcci yūpa neṭuntūṇ,
vēta vēḷvit toḻil muṭittatū um

(Puṟam 224: 8-9) and

nān maṟai virittu nallicai viḷakkum
vāy moḻip pulavīr kēṇmin

(*Paripāṭal* 9-12)

Maturaikkāñci refers to the singing (recitation) of the *Vedās.*

ciranta vetam viḷaṅkappāṭi
viḻuccīr eyṭiya oḻukkamoṭu puṇarntu

(Ibid. 468.8-469)

It is mentioned in the same text, that the *Vedas* were sung in beautiful melody.

tātuṇ tumpi pōtu muraṉṟāṅku
kōtal antaṇar vētam pāṭa

yāḻōr marutam paṇṇa

(655-58)

The reciting of the *Vedas*, was like the buzzing sound of the '*tumpi*', while flying from flower to flower and was pleasant to the ears. This recitation was accompanied by *yāḻ*, playing the *marudap-paṇ*. This *paṇ* was sung in the morning and produced joy. Other references to *Vedas* and details on sacrifices will be given in the chapter - Sanskrit and Tamil.

The Pallavas and Coḷas were great patrons of Vedic scholars and studies. They gave maximum support to Vedic scholars. The *Taṇḍantottam plates* refer to 108 *Caturvedins*, 20 *Trivedins*, 10 *Kramavids and 20 Ṣaḍaṅgavids*. Here the term *kramavid* found in the inscriptions refers to those proficient in *krama* mode of the recitation of *Vedas*.

The *Ṣaḍaṅgavids* are those proficient in the six ancillary texts of the *Vedas*. Another inscription of the Cola period gives details about a College at Eṇṇāyiram (Rājarājacaturvedimaṅgalam) of Rājendra's time (1014-44 A.D). There was provision for Vedic studies there. There were 270 *brahmacārins* or students, of whom 40 studied *Vyākaraṇa* and the rest *Vedas*.

In the *Kaśākkuḍi plate* of Nandivarman Pallavamalla, the following account about the Guru Jyeṣṭhapāda Somayājin, living at Puni, is noteworthy. He was a master of the *Vedas*, *Vedāṅgas*, *Karmakāṇḍa*, *Jñānakāṇḍa* etc. He was a Sāmavedin and sang melodiously, the *Sāmaveda* (*Svarasamadhura-sāmaga*).

The references to *Pavaḻiya* and *Vaseni* in the inscriptions are Tamil terms of *bahvṛca* and *vājasaneyī*.

A reference made by Naccinākkiniyār in his commentary on the benedictory verse of the *Kaḻittokai* is worth consideration.

maṟaiyavana taittirīyamum pauṭiyamum
talavakāramum cāmavēdamum ām

The Vedic divisions given here are noteworthy. The word *pauḍiyamum* is the same as *pavaḻiya* or *bahvṛca*. *Periya Tirumoḻi* (V.9)refers to the God as *Chandoga*, *Pauḻiya*, *Taittirīya*, *Sāmavediyane*, *Neḍumāle*.

Vedas - Commentaries

Tamil Nadu has produced several scholars who wrote commentaries on the *Vedas* and independent treatises relating to the *Vedas*.

(Veṅkaṭa) Mādhava, son of Veṅkaṭārya and Sundarī belonged to the Kauśika *gotra*. He was the grandson of Mādhava and his maternal grandfather was Bhāvagoḷa. In his commentary, *Ṛgarthadīpīkā* on the *Ṛgvedasaṁhitā*, he gives an account of his nativity thus.

kuśikānām kule jāto mādhavaḥ sundarī sutah
vyākarod iti Mādhavaḥ pautraḥ sa Mādhavāryasya

daksiṇāpatham āśritya vartamāneṣu Mādhavaḥ
coleṣu nivasan kaścit sasyamāliṣu sarvadā
nadīm āśritya nivasan kāverīm lokam āśritam
tīram āśritya nivasan kāveryāh dakṣiṇam sukham
coleṣu nivasan grāme gomatyā āryaiḥ samāvṛte[1]

These verses prove clearly the nativity of Mādhava as Coladeśa and that he lived on the southern banks of Kāverī, in a village Gomatī, which is probably the same as Tiruvāḍuturai. He also refers to a king Jagatām Ekavīra who is identified with Cola Parāntaka I (907-52 A.D.).

Another Mādhava, who wrote twelve *anukramaṇis* for the *Ṛgveda*, also lived in the same village Gomatī and is different from his namesake. He wrote twelve *anukramaṇīs - Ākhyāta, Nāman, Nipāta* (obscure), *Padās, Vibhakti, Svara, Samaya, Ṛṣi, Chandas, Devatā, Itihāsa* and commentary.[2]

One Gaṇeśa Bhaṭṭa Ḍokhale wrote *Dīpikā*[3] commentary on the *Ṛgvedānukramaṇī* (Sarvānukramaṇī). He is the son of Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa Ḍhokhale.

bhaṭṭa kṛṣṇa pitā yasya jananī rukmiṇī satī
yasyāgrajo mahādeva ḍhāṅo,kaletyupanāmakaḥ
paribhāṣā vibhāvyātha sarvānukramameva ca

His nativity and date are not known.

Bharatasvāmin, a resident of Śrīraṅgam, flourished during the reign of Hoysala Vira Rāmanātha (1255 A.D.).[4] Hoysala rulers had connection with Colas and stayed at Śrīraṅgam. Bharatasvāmin belonged to the Kāśyapa *gotra* and was the son of Nārāyaṇa and Yajñadā.[5] He wrote the commentary on the *Sāmaveda*[6] and also one on *Sāmavidhānabrāhmaṇa*.[7]

On the *Sāmaveda*, a commentary *Chāndasikabhāṣya*[8] was composed by another Mādhava, son of Nārāyaṇa. He belonged to the Kāśyapa *gotra*.

natvā nārāyaṇam devam tat prasādād avāpta dhīḥ sāmnām
śrī Bharatasvāmī kaśyapo vyākarot ṛcaḥ chāndasikottara
rahasyaḥ pañcāgninā mādhavena savituḥ parām
bhaktim ālambya tat prasādād bhāṣyam kṛtam

This Mādhava is probably earlier to Sāyaṇa. He appears to have commented on *Pūrvārcika* portion only.

Śāradātanaya, who wrote *Bhāvaprakāśa*, a well-known work on *Alaṅkāraśāstra*, refers to his place of residence as Merūttara, probably Uttaramerūr[9] in North Arcot District, a great cultural centre during the Cola period. He also mentions here, that his great grandfather Lakṣmaṇa, wrote commentaries on the *Vedas* called *Vedabhūṣaṇa*.

tasya lakṣmaṇa nāmā āsīd vipraḥ kaśyapa vaṁśajaḥ
vedānām bhāṣyam akarod nāmnā yo vedabhūṣaṇam

Lakṣmaṇa's date may be 12th century A.D.

Ekāgnikāṇḍa also known as *Mantrapraśna*[10] (on two *praśnas*) of *Kṛṣṇa yajurveda* was commented on by Haradatta about whom we shall deal with in more detail in the section on Kalpasūtras.

This part contains *Vivāhamantras, Upanayana, Samāvartana, Madhuparka, Sīmantonnayana, Puṁsavana, Jātakarma, Annaprāśana, Sarpabali, Īśānabali* and *Krodhāpanayana karma.*

Resume and adaptations of Commentaries

Apart from the commentaries on the *Vedas*, resume and adaptations of the commentaries were also produced. One Naidhruva Veṅkaṭeśa of unknown date, who was a pupil of Caturvedi Śrīnivāsa wrote a resume of the *Bhāṣyas* of Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara and Sāyaṇa of the *Kṛṣṇayajurveda*. These are *Kṛṣṇayajurveda Saṁhitābhāṣya* by Veṅkaṭesa[11] *Vedārthasaṅgrahasāra* and *Yajurvedabhāṣyasaṅgrahasāra.*[12]

Vedic *Sūktas*

Among several *sūktas* of the *Ṛgveda, Śatarudrīya, Puruṣasūkta* and the *Śrīsūkta* hold an important place. *Śatarudrīya* of Rudra (adhyāya) of *Rudrapraśna* is recited both in the houses and Śiva temples. This *sūkta*, which is in eleven *anuvākas*, extols Rudra or Śiva. The greatness of *Rudrādhyāya* is spoken thus in scriptures.

vidyāsu śrutirutkṛṣṭā rudraikādaśinī tatra
pañcākṣarī tasyām śiva ityakṣaradvayam

Thus among different branches of learning the *Vedas* are great; there too *Rudraikādaśinī* (*Rudrasūkta*), there *Pañcākṣara* and in that the two syllables Śiva.

This *Śatarudrīya* recitation is the best form of meditation according to the *Jābālyupaniṣad* (3).

atha hainam brahmacāriṇā ūcuḥ kim japyenāmṛtatvam
brūhīti; sa hovāca yājñavalkyaḥ; śatarudrīyeneti;
etāni ha vā amṛtasya nāmadheyāni bhavanti etam
ha vā amṛto bhavanti.

Sūtasaṁhitā, *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* and *Mahābhārata*, all these refer to the recitation of *Śatarudrīya* and greatness of Śiva. Just as the tree gets fully nourished by watering it at the bottom, so also all the Gods are pleased when *Rudrajapa* is done.

vṛkṣasya mūlaśekena śākhāḥ puṣyanti vai yathā
śive rudrajapād prīte prītā eva as(n)ya devatāḥ.
(*Sūtasaṁhitā* 4.2.40)

Śatarudrīya, praising the hundred forms and powers of God Rudra, is probably the earliest instance of reciting several names of God, getting purified and becoming closer to God.

Veṅkaṭanātha of Vilāṅguḍi in Tanjore was the preceptor of the well-known *advaitic* scholar, Dharmarāja Adhvarīndra who belonged to Kaṇḍaramāṇikkam village. He wrote *Rudrapraśnabhāṣya*.[13] But some manuscripts ascribe the work to his preceptor Abhinava Śaṅkara.[14]

On the *Namaka*, a *Namakārthaprakāśasaṅgraha*[15] was written by Abhinavanṛsiṁhāśrama, pupil of Rāmacandrāśrama.

Puruṣasūkta and *Srisūkta*

Puruṣasūkta and *Śrīsūkta* also had their individuality and influenced religious thoughts of scholars especially Vaiṣṇavites. Apart from Sāyaṇa's commentary on *Puruṣasūkta* many a Vaiṣṇavite wrote expositions of it. Probably the omnipresent form of the Supreme Being, attracted these scholars and gave rise to different forms of interpretation. A mythical origin is referred to for these two *sūktas*. *Lakṣmītantra* says thus: The majestic ocean of *Śabdabrahma* was churned under deep *samādhi*. Then there arose two *sūktas*, *Puruṣa* and *Śrī*, the former was accepted by Viṣṇu and the latter by Lakṣmī.

Lakṣmītantra[16]

devo Nārāyaṇo nāma jagatas tasthuṣaḥ patiḥ
ātmā ca sarvalokānām ṣāḍguṇyānandavigrahaḥ

tasyāham paramāśaktir ekā śrīr nāma śāśvatī
parameṇa samādhinā -
mathnavas tvati gambhīram śabdabrahma mahodadhim
mathyamāne tatas tasmāt sāmaṛgyajuṣā saṅkulāt
tat sūkta mithunam divyam dadhno ghṛtamivoditam
tatra pumlakṣaṇam sūktam sad brahmaguṇabhūṣitam
svīcakāra aravindākṣaḥ svamahimni pratiṣṭhitam
tadvat strīlakṣaṇam sūktam sadbṛahmaguṇabhūṣitam
svīcakāra aham avyagrā svamahimni pratiṣṭhitam[16]

Raṅganātha of unknown date wrote a commentary on *Puruṣasūkta.*[16a]

Raṅgarāmānujamuni, also known as Upaniṣadbhāṣyakāra, who flourished during the l6th cent A.D. wrote a *bhāṣya* on *Puṛusasūkta.*[17]

Gomaṭa Raṅganātha, resident of Ūrdhvāgrahāra (Melūr), was the son of Munnayārya (?) and pupil of Sarvajña and Sundararāja. He was also the author of a Commentary[18] on *Puruṣasūkta.*

Devarāja (l8th-l9th cent) of Vādhūla gotra, father of Raghupati, who wrote a commentary on *Nyāsatilaka*[19] of Deśika and Śrīnivāsācārya (preceptor of the author of a Commentary on the Haṁsasandeśa, C. MD.ll914), was the disciple of Varadaguru or Varadarāja. He wrote the Commentary *Sarvārthasundarī*[20] on *Puruṣasūkta.*

Varadavallabha, son of Devarāja, belonging to the Vādhūlagotra wrote *Śārārthadīpikā* on *Puruṣasūkta.*[21] He has identified *Puruṣa* as Varadarāja of Kāñci.

aśvamedhe mahāyajñe svayambhūvihite purā
prādurbhūto atha divyāya puruṣāya ṅamo namaḥ
itihāsapurāṇābhyām tasya tātparyamucyate
ṛgbhiḥ ṣoḍaśabhir dhātrā proktam varadavaibhavan
viduṣaḥ phalam antyābhyām dvābhyam iha ucyate
tatrādau varadasya jaganmayatvam sarva -
ṣulabhatvam āha sahasreti.

Another Gautama Raṅganātha, pupil of Mukundanārāyaṇa and a Śatakratuyāji, was a commentator on *Puruṣasūkta*.[22] According to V. Raghavan, Gautama may be Gomaṭa and Munnayārya, referred to above, is the same as Mukundanārāyaṇa. He also feels that a few common verses in the beginning of these two works add to the possibility of their identity.[23]

Prativādibhayaṅkaram Anantācārya or Anantārya of Kañcī was another Vaiṣṇavite scholar who wrote a commentary on *Puruṣasūkta*.[24]

Raṅganātha Bhaṭṭa wrote a Commentary on *Puruṣasūkta*.

Colophon:

Ranganātha Bhaṭṭasya Kṛtiṣu Puruṣa sūktabhāṣyam samāptam
(MT.2299(b)).

Lakṣmī or Śri had an important place in the Vaiṣṇavite religion and philosophy. Her powers are mentioned in ancient treatises as follows: Svāyambhuva:-

sarvakāmapradām ramyām samsārārṇavatāriṇīm
kṣipraprasādinīm lakṣmīṃ śaraṇyām anucintayet
mahālakṣmīsaṁjñuitā sāma ṛg yajurmayīm devagarbhām
manasvinīm
lokeśa īśa vibhūtīnām kāraṇam yannirīkṣaṇam

Ahirbudhnya (3.41-44.)

nārāyaṇaḥ sa viśvātmā bhāvābhāvamidam jagat
niṣkalena svarūpeṇa yathā vyāpya niyacchati
sarvabhāvātmikī lakṣmīr ahantā paramātmikā
taḍ dharma dharmiṇī devī bhūtvā sarvamidam jagat
niṣkalena svarūpeṇa sā-api tattvam niyacchati

Probably Lakṣmī, in general was picturised as the Goddess of prosperity, fertility and happiness. These aspects find place in *Śrīsūkta*. There were several commentaries on this *Sūkta*. Among them is that of the well-known Nārāyaṇa Muni or Nañjīyar or Periya Jīyar or Raṅganātha[25] (11th-12th cent). Nañjīyar, earlier known as Mādhavasūri was a staunch advaitin and later became a Vaiṣṇavite, after being conquered by Parāśara Bhaṭṭa. His elaborate commentary on *Śrīsūkta* stresses the importance of Śrī or Goddess Lakṣmī in Vaiṣṇava theology. The importance of the commentary can be gauged from its extensive quotations by Deśika. Some salient features of this Commentary have been pointed out by V.K.S.N. Raghavan in his *History of Viśiṣṭādvaita Literature*.[26]

Gomaṭha Raṅganātha, a sannyāsin, wrote a *Bhāṣya* on *Śrīsūkta*.[26A]

Govindarāja (l6th cent.) the well-known commentator on the *Rāmāyaṇa*, was another scholar who wrote a Commentary. on *Śrīsūkta*.[27]

Vedic *Śākhās*

Before dealing with other topics in the field of *Vedas*, a few works on the Vedic *Sākhās* can be noticed here.

On the greatness of *Kāṇvaśākhā* of the *Yajurveda*, several texts like the *Kāṇva śākhā mahimasaṅgraha* of Nāgeśa (Pandharpur), *Kāṇva śākhāmāhatmya*, an anonymous one and another by (Śrī) Kṛṣṇasūri and a third one, mainly extracts from the *Purāṇas* from different parts of India were written. Of these, in Nāgeśa's work, a similar work by the Pundits of Śrīraṅgam in Tamil Nadu written at the instance of Peddi Bhaṭṭa of Vasiṣṭhagotra is referred to.

> *yam vai śrīraṅgavidvajjana bahunigamaih kārayāmāsa samyak*
> *vasiṣṭhaḥ peddi bhaṭṭaḥ śubham iha mahimasaṅgraham śākhikāyaḥ*
> *kāṇvastham vyasta-pāṭha krama nati rahitam vīkṣya sajjam pracakre*
> *nāgeśaḥ pāṇḍuraṅgābhidhapuravasatī nāgaro viṭṭhalasya*[28]

Here an observation made in this work is noteworthy.

> *gopālakṛta śeṣākhye sūtre vivaraṇe api ca*
>
> *pāñcarātrāgame tredhā tathā jñānārṇave apica*
> *yajurvedānukramaṇe tathā draviḍa bhāṣake*[29]

The superiority of the *Śukla Yajurveda* was glorified by Kṛṣnasūrı, a staunch believer of *Advaita*, in his work, *Vedatattvanirūpaṇa*.[30] Much attention is paid to the *Vājasaneyī saṁhitā* of the *Śukla Yajurveda* and its promulgator Yājñavalkya. *Vedatattvanirūpaṇa*[31] referred to above, is a modern one and is on the greatness of the *Kāṇva* school of the *Vājasaneyīsaṁhitā*.

In the beginning the author is referred to thus:

> *śrutyādisiddham śrutivedinam tam nīcoccabhāvam harivājituṣṭyai*
> *śrī kṛṣṇasūriḥ śrita kāṇvaśākhaḥ śrī vājinunnam prakaṭī kariṣye /*

In the end the greatness of the Kāṇva Śākhā is mentioned thus:

> *śuklayajuṣah kṛṣṇayajuṣādibhyaḥ uttamatvam*
> *avaśyam aṅgīkartavyam ityalam pallavitena*

Kanakāvali[32] by Nārāyaṇācārya of Śrīmuṣṇam deals with the Vedic Śākhās.

This gives the traditional history and the growth of the different schools of the four *Vedas*. It also gives suitable replies to the criticisms levelled against *Śukla Yajurveda*. Like Mahīdāsa's Commentary on the *Caraṇavyūha* this author quotes authorities mainly from the *purāṇas*.

Vedāṅgas

From the reference to *Ṣaḍaṅgavids* in the Pallava inscriptions, we can understand that there were scholars who were well versed in the ancillary texts of *Vedas*, the *Vedāṅgas*. Treatises pertaining to this branch of literature were also written in Tamil Nadu of which a few references are given below. These texts are six in number; *Śikṣā* or *Prātiśākhya*, *Vyākaraṇa*, *Chandas*, *Jyotiṣa*, *Nirukta* and *Kalpa*.

There are several ancillary texts relating to the *Vedas*. Of these the dates of all are not known. A few of these are given below under two classifications viz., those whose dates are not known and those that are known.

From the *Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda*, Vedic words ending in particular letters which get modified or do not get modified in the *padapāṭha* or by accents of words indicated by different postures of the hand are all dealt with in the *Saptalakṣaṇa* and such other Vedic ancillary texts.

Śrīvatsāṅka, son of Devamanīṣin, wrote a commentary on *Aniṅgya*.[33] This is in 100 verses and deals with words which are not split up in the *Pada-pāṭha* of the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*.

Śaurisūnu wrote *Napara Tapara*,[34] which is a list of words ending in '*na*' and '*ta*'. A commentary on it by Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa,[35] is found in a manuscript of Adayar Library. But a statement found therein - *svayam eva vyākhyānam racayiṣyāmī* - makes one surmise that both the text and the commentary were written by the same person.

Taittirīya Prātiśākhya is a standard ancillary text of the *Taittirīya śākhā*. This consists of two *praśnas* each containing 12 adhyāyas. There are 535 *sūtras*.

Gārgya Gopāla-yajvan (śūri or miśra) wrote the commentary *Vaidikābharaṇa*[36] on this.

> *praṇamya sāṅgam āmnāyam ācāryāmśca praṇīyate*
> *vyākhyānam prātiśākhyasya gārgya gopālayajvanā*
> *artharatnair nyāya guṇaiḥ pūrvaśāstrārṇavoddhṛtaiḥ*
> *racitam dhāryantve tadvaidikābharaṇam budhāḥ*

Varṇakramadarpaṇa on *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya* is by Appayācārya.[37] But this was written by Vemana Bhairavāvadhānin.

Bhāradvājaśikṣā is on the words in the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, which may either be mispronounced, or confused with others of similar sound or form. On this Lakṣmaṇa Jaṭāvallabha Śāstri of Paraṇūr village in South Arcot district, wrote a commentary.[38]

The greatness of *Bhāradvājaśikṣā* is referred to in this verse.

yo jānāti bhāradvājaśikṣām arthasamanvitām
sa brahmalokam āpnoti gṛhamedhī gṛham yathā (30)

Vaidyanātha Śāstri (Bhaṭṭa) or Veṅku Śāstri, son of Svāmiśāstrin of Kamalaṅkuṭi (Kaḍalaṅkuṭi) village, wrote a commentary on the (Rāvaṇa) Bhaiṭ,[39] or *Lakṣaṇa - Ratna* (*Bhaiṭ*) (*Veda Lakṣaṇaratna*) in 7 *kāṇḍas*. In the end, the following verse is found on the authorship.

kamalaṅkuṭyagrahāre janmabhūḥ svāmiśāstrijaḥ
baid ākyānya akarod ślokān veṅkuśāstri yajuśruteḥ

A supplement to this, *Lakṣaṇa Ratna-paribhāṣa*[40] was written by Rāma, son of Bhāskarārya. This work is in 25 verses with a commentary. In the beginning of the work the author's name is given.

namaskṛtya gurūn śākṣāc chivasūrya svarūpiṇaḥ
svakṛtam lakṣaṇam rāmo vyākhyāty ṛgyajuṣoḥ sāmam
praṇamya siddhi vighneśam vaidyanāthakṛtam varam
bhāskarārya tanūjena lakṣaṇam pūryate adhunā

Siddhāntaśikṣā[41] and commentary on it were written by Śrīnivāsa of Catuṣkula family. This *Sikṣā* is in 74 verses.

The authorship of the text is given in the beginning.

śrīnivāsādhvarīndreṇa catuṣkula sudhāṁśunā
slokāh siddhāntaśikṣāyām catuḥsaptatir īritāh
sampraṇamya sakalaikakāraṇam
brahmarudramukha maulibhūṣaṇam
lakṣaṇam śrutigirām vilakṣaṇam
śrīnivāsamakhinā praṇīyate

Several *śikṣas* are referred to in the beginning of the commentary by the author. The author has carefully gone through the available *śikṣas* as also *Prātiśākhya*.

pūrvaśikṣāh parāmṛśya prātiśākhyam ca sarvaśaḥ
siddhāntaśikṣām vakṣyāmi vedabhāṣyānusāriṇīm

Pāriśikṣā[42] is said to be by Pāri, a chieftain in Tamil Nadu who is well-known in old Tamil literature.[43] The attribution of the authorship has to be reconsidered since in the introductory verse, the whole pantheon of Gods, Gaṇeśa, Sarasvatī, Jagannātha are paid respects to and the commentator Cakra salutes Hayagrīva. Unless proper evidences are available, the attribution to Pāri, the Tamilian chief stands as an open question. This work deals with the following topics relating to the *Yajurveda*.

Sections of *Pāriśikṣā*

Paribhāṣā, Varṇasārabhūtavarṇakramalakṣaṇa, Varṇakramaḥ, Udāttā- disvaradharmāḥ, Vyañjanādi dharma samkhyāniyamaḥ, Varṇotpattiḥ, Dhvaniprakaraṇam, Sthānakaraṇaprakaraṇam, Sthānakaraṇaviśeṣaḥ, Prayatnaprakaraṇa, Varṇānām devatā niyamah, Varṇānām jāti niyamaḥ, Aṅga Prakaraṇam, Varṇasamjñā, Mātrā-kālalakṣaṇam, Udāttādīnām devatā-jāti niyamah, Hasta-svara-lakṣaṇam, Svara vinyāsaḥ, Aṅgādy-avastha, Ṣaḍjādi-lakṣaṇam, Ṣaḍjā-lakṣaṇam, Ṛṣabha-lakṣaṇam, Gāndhāra-lakṣaṇam, Madhyama-lakṣaṇam, Pañcama- lakṣaṇam, Niṣāda-lakṣaṇam, Bharata-vihita samjñā, Udāttadyutpatti sthānam, Sapta-svarita-bhedāḥ, Kṣaipraḥ, Nityaḥ, Pratihatah, Abhinihitaḥ, Praśliṣṭaḥ, Pādavṛttaḥ, Tairovyañjanaḥ, Tat-prayatna-bhedaḥ, Svarita-kampah, Udātta-kampah, Kampotpādana-varṇāh, Svara-bhakti-lakṣaṇam, Svarabhakti-nāmāni, Svarabhaktyudāharaṇaṁ, Vivṛtti-lakṣaṇam, Vatsānusṛtiḥ, Vatsānusāriṇi, Pākavati, Pipīlikā, Ubhaya-dīrghi, Savarṇa-dīrghī-madhyāḥ, Vivṛtyudāharaṇāni, Raṅgapluta-lakṣaṇam, Raṅga-dīrgha-lakṣaṇam.

Dvitvaprakaraṇa, Anusvāraviṣayaḥ, Pūrvāgamaprakaraṇa, Lakṣyanusvāra-dvitvam ādeśaḥ, Abhinidhānam, Āgamaviśeṣaḥ, Yama-Viṣayaḥ, Auṣmapara-prathamasya-dvitīyaḥ, Padāntanakāraviṣayaḥ, Nāsikyaurasatvam, Haripraṇavaviṣayaḥ, Jihvāmūlīyaupadhmāniyāḥ, Svara varṇa-krama-lakṣṇa.[1]

It is interesting to note that this *śikṣā* besides dealing with several aspects like the origin, colour, caste etc., of consonants, deals also with musical notes such as *Ṣaḍjādilakṣaṇa* etc.

Gopāla and Veṅkaṭeśa wrote *Pūrvaṛkkārikā*[44] in verses on the divisions of Prakṛti ṛk. In the end of the manuscript the authorship is given thus:

marutkhaṇḍe purobhāge ṛkpadam sāma ca kramāt
paṭhitā paṭhatām jñaptyai nāradīye viśeṣataḥ
gopāla veṅkaṭeśābhyām kārikeyam kṛtādhunā
dvayoś ca vīkṣatām caiva kuryāt bhadram sabheśvaraḥ

The reference to Sabheśa makes one think of the probability of these scholars associated with Cidambaram.

Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa of unknown date wrote a commentary on *Vilaṅghya*.[45] The contents of this text are explained thus:

ekāraikāravarṇau yau samhitāyām vikāriṇau
tadantāni vilaṅghyānītyucyante vedavittamaiḥ
purātane atiriktam yat tyaktvānuktam samopya ca
varṇakrameṇa gṛhyante savyākhyanyeva tānyapi

The changes undergone by the final vowels 'e', 'ai', 'o', 'au' in words, before a vowel in the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* are given in this text.

Śeṣa Nārāyaṇa appears to have written three works relating to Vedāṅgas. These are *Aniṅgyalakṣaṇa*, *Tapara* (*Sarvatapara*)[46] and *Natāntapadāni* or *Napara* (*prakaraṇa*).[47]

Aniṅgyalaksaṇa (*Akhaṇḍa Mañjarī*)[48] was composed in A.D.1610-11.

priya-sabhā ca kalyabde (Śrī) ṣaḍamarṣaṇajanmanā
sāṅgatrayīvidā śeṣanārāyaṇamanīṣiṇā.

Śabdabrahmavilāsa[49] of Vīrarāghavakavi, son of Lakṣmīkumāratātadeśika[50] of Kāñci, is a commentary on *Taittirīyaprātiśākhya*. Explanation of a few contradictory points found in the commentaries on *Tribhāṣyaratna* and *Vaidikābharaṇa* is offered. *Prātiśākhya* is ascribed to Hanuman. Ātreya, Māhiṣeya and Vararuci are said to have written commentaries on this.

Sabhāpati wrote *Dhāraṇālakṣaṇa*[51] in 23 *kārikas*. This work explains the chanting of the notes of *Sāmaveda*, indicating the notes by the nodes and parts of the fingers.

Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita or Yajvan, son of (Ananta) Kṛṣṇa of Sankṛtigotra and disciple of Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita of Tiruvisallur (last part of 17th cent.), wrote *Svara-siddhānta-candrikā*[51a] an elaborate Commentary on 378 *sūtras* of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and on *Phiṭsūtras*, with examples taken from texts of Taittirīya school. This text consists of 12 *prakaraṇas* with a long introduction of 42 verses.

1. Ārambhaṇaprakaraṇa
2. Samjñā
3. Paribhāṣā
4. Saṁhitā-svara
5. Dhātu svara
6. Pratyaya svara
7. Samāsa svara
8. Phiṭ sūtrāṇi
9. Subantasarvānudātta
10. Tiṅanta Sarvānudātta
11. Pluta svara
12. Ekaśruti prakaraṇa.

The details about the author are given in the following verse:

sāṅkṛtyānvaya sambhavacchubhaguṇāmbodheranantāmbayā
āhnavyeva pavitrayā kṣititale saṁvardhitaḥ śreyasaḥ
jātaḥ kṛṣṇa vipaścito vidhur iva prīṇan budhān ātmanā
sanmārgābhigamojjvalo vijayate sa śrinivāsas sudhīḥ

This work criticises the views expressed by Nṛsiṃhasūri in his *Svaramañjarī*.

In the verse on obeisance to his guru Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita, he refers to the greatness of his preceptor thus:

vyākṛtinirmāṇa caṇān praṇamāmi trīn munīn jagadvandyān
gurumapi samaṣṭim eṣām śrī rāmabhadra yajvānam (c.6).

Thus Dīkṣita was a combination of the three, Vararuci, Patañjali and Pāṇini.

Atharvaṇarahasya[52] of the *Atharvaveda* in 53 verses was compiled for H.H. Wilson during the 19th century. On it a commentary was written by Dhīra Govindaśarman. This is a dissertation relating to the *Atharvaveda*. (*Brahma veda dūṣaṇoddhāra*), including the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Upaniṣads*. The *Viśvaguṇādarśa campū* of Veṅkaṭādhvarin is also quoted in it. In the opening of the work, Wilson's name is referred to.

vidita nikhila vidyāh khyāta lekharṣabhaśrīḥ
vilāsin (i.e. Wilson) *iti khilāyam bhāvyate bhūmipālah*
tad upacarita vṛttir dhīra govindaśarmā
kamapi laghunibandham turyavede tanoti (V 2)

Another *Ātharvaṇarahasya* seems to have been composed by Rāmasubbā Śāstrin. He makes a reference to this tract in his *Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad Vilāsa.*[53]

Vedaśabdavibhūṣaṇa[54] was written by Ananta Gopālakṛṣṇa, who was the son and disciple of Ananta Veṅkaṭeśa of Śrīvatsa gotra. This is a commentary in 8 adhyāyas on the Vedic *sūtras* of Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyi*, with illustrations from *Taittirīyasaṁhitā*. He pays his respects to Gopālakṛṣṇa, who wrote *Śābdikacintāmaṇi*[55] and who was the preceptor of Vijaya Raghunātha Toṇḍamān of Pudukkottai (A.D. 1736-60).

Śaptasvarasindhu[56] is by Ayyāśāstrin, son of Veṅkaṭārya of Aṣṭagotra family of Viṭṭhalapura, on the banks of the river Tāmraparṇi. This work was composed in A.D. 1750.

Svaravarṇalaksaṇa[57] or *Sapta-svara-sindhu* was by Rāmānuja, son of Śrīnivāsa and great grandson of Ayyāśāstrin, who belonged to *Sāmaveda*. In this work the Vedic accents of *Sāmaveda* are dealt with as also the usage of the seven *svaras ṣaḍja* etc., for the Vedic letters. This work was composed in 1750 A.D. *Svarasiddhāntacakra*[58] is probably the 6th *adhyaya* of this work. He wrote a commentary *Bālānurañjinī* on *Saptasvarasindhu*[59]. In this work a large number of Śikṣas, authors and rare names like Sāṭyāyani, Pāri, Cyavana, Nārāyaṇīyasūtra, *Vedasvarāmṛta* and *Caturvedaprātiśākhya* are quoted. Another notable feature of this Commentary is that it refers to the superiority of the *Draviḍapāṭha or Ārya-pāṭha* over the *Āndhrapāṭha* for the *Kṛṣṇa-yajur-veda.*[60]

kecana kṛṣṇayajuhśākḥāviṣaye āndhrapāṭham anusṛtyaiva
adhyetavyam iti vadanti tat siddhānta viruddhaṃ ataḥ
āryapāṭhaṁ iti prasiddhe draviḍapāṭhaṁ anusṛtyaiva
adhyetavyam

Regarding the authorship of the work in the Baroda Ms, the following details are given in the beginning.

gotreṣu aṣṭasu kauśiko vijayate śrī śrīnivāsas sudhīḥ
śrīmad vaiṣṇava goṣṭhiṣu vijayī rāmānujas tat sutaḥ

saṅkṣipya saptasvarasindhu nāma kurve ca so'ham
svaravarṇalakṣaṇam

From the above account we can take the author as Rāmānuja, son of Śrīnivāsa. But the manuscript in Trivandrum Curator's collection gives altogether a different account. In the beginning of the commentary on this

Saptasvarasindhu or *Svaravarṇalakṣaṇa*, the commentator's name and lineage are given thus:

bālānurañjanī nāma lalitākṣaragumbhitā
svaraśikṣādi tattvārtha bodhanaika vicakṣaṇa
śrīnivāsatanūjena śrī rāmānuja śarmaṇā
ayyāśāstrīti viduṣo naptreyam kriyate mayā

Two more verses give details about Āyyāśāstri as follows:

Tāmra nāmā vibhāti pāvanatarā kācinnadī tattaṭe
ramyā bhāgavatottamaiḥ suragurostulyair yaśobuddhibhiḥ
ākrānta śrutipāragair budhavaraih śrī viṭṭhalākhyapurī
tatrāste vibudhāvatamsa raśikaḥ śrī veṅkaṭākhyaḥ prabhuḥ

tasyātmajena viduṣā budhavamśajena
śrī kauśikānvaya payodhisudhāmśunā ca
slāghyāṣṭagotrakulajena mayā adhunā ayyā-
śāstrītināmakavinā kriyate mudāyam

This Ayyāśāstri is referred to also as

sakaladvijakulatilakaḥ svarasaṅgītaśāstrasudhāmbudhi
manthācalaprakhyas tatrabhavān ayyāśāstrināmā kavikuñjaraḥ.

From these quotations we find that Rāmānuja, the great grandson of Ayyāśāstri, is the author of *Saptasvara siddhānta* or *Svaravarṇalakṣaṇa* according to Baroda catalogue. Ayyāśāstrin is the author of the text and Rāmānuja wrote only the commentary *Bālānurañjanī* as per Travancore Ms. Since no other evidence is available at present, we can conclude that Ayyāśāstrin wrote the text and the commentary was by his great grandson.

Devarāja Yajvan (12th cent A.D), grandson of Devarāja and son of Yajñeśvara was a resident of Śrīraṅgam. He wrote *a bhāṣya* on *Naighaṇṭuka kāṇda*.[61] He also says in the introduction portion of his commentary thus:- *nigamaśca Dakṣiṇāpatha nivāsibhir ādhriteṣu vedeṣu paridṛśyamānaḥ*. This shows clearly the author's South Indian nativity. His critical acumen is well proved by his another statement - *bahudeśa samānīta bahu kośa nirīkṣaṇācca pāṭhaḥ samśodhitaḥ*. This statement of Devarāja shows that he was careful enough to go through several manuscripts of this work, brought from different regions, examined the correct reading and explained it. Probably he had examined the commentaries by Durga, and Skandasvāmin. Devarāja also refers to the different *anukramaṇis* of Mādhava.

śrī veṅkaṭācārya tanayasya mādhavasya bhāṣyakṛtau
nāmānukramaṇyāḥ ākhyātānukramaṇyāḥ
tadīyasya bhāṣyasya ca bahuśaḥ

Kalpasūtras

The importance attached to the sacrifices and to the household ceremonies gave rise to the writing of several treatises relating to *Kalpā Śrauta* and *Gṛhya*. The support of Vedic scholars by royalty referred to in the inscriptions also adds weight to this branch of *Kalpa* literature.

Mātṛdatta[62] was the earliest writer to comment in the field of *Kalpasūtras*. He belonged to *Sāmaveda* and was the father of Bhavarāta (trāta). He flourished during the 7th cent and 8th cent as poet Daṇḍin refers to them in his *Avantiṣundarīkatha*. He wrote commentaries on *Satyāṣāḍha Hiraṇyakeśīya gṛhya* and *śrautasūtras*.[63]

Bhavarāta, Mātṛdatta's son wrote *Kauśītakīgṛhya-sūtrabhāṣya*[64] and *Jaiminīyaśrautasūtrabhāṣya*.[65] It appears that his nephew and son-in-law Jayanta completed *Jaiminīyagṛhyasūtrabhāṣya*. The following extract from the work clearly gives the details about the family of Mātṛdatta and also the completion of the commentary.

vande brahmavidaṁ dvijanmatilakaṁ taṁ brahmadattāhvayam

sa me gāyatram amṛtam sāmavedāmṛtārṇavam
yasmādanaśire martyā brāhmaṇo vibudhā iva
muner brahmavidas tasya kaśyapasya mahātmanaḥ
teṣu yasyābhavad ṛṣir māṭharo maṇḍanam param

asmin samjajñire vaṁśe sāmāgā guṇaśālinaḥ
siṁhā ivārṇavam grāmam colakavanekṣitam
vaṁśo adhivasati śrīmān haṁsa śreṇīva mānasam
āṣīd guṇanidhis tatra hastiśarmeti vedabhṛt
sa keralākhyam sadraṣṭram agān nāga ivārṇavam
tasya putro budhasamaḥ sāma ṛgyajuṣu pāragaḥ

āsīd anavamotsāhāh sarveṣu khalu jantuṣu
mātṛtulyadayo nāma māṭṛdatta iti śrutaḥ
parām kāṣṭhām gatavataḥ sasutam atha karmaṇoḥ
viśvāmitraja mukhyasya brahmadattasya labdhavān

tasya janmani yastena sa bhavatrāta ityabhūt
agniṣṭomādyaneka śrutim api vidhivajjaiminer yajñatantram
vyācakhyāvalpaśeṣam māṭhara kulapatiḥ śrī bhavatrātanāmā |
jāmātā bhāgineyaḥ pra(ti)vitata yaśastasya śiṣyo anukūlo
bhāradvājo jayanto vyaracayam anayā vyakhyuyoktavasesam

A commentary *Subodhini*[66] was written by Śrinivaśāsdhvarin.

Vinatānandana[67] is a Commentary by one Śrīnivasa on *Jaiminīya gṛhya sūtra.*

There is another work *Jaiminīya gṛhya prayoga ratnamāla*[68] by Śrīnivāsa. Whether all the three are identical or not is not clear.

Brahmadatta, referred to as the commentator on *Śāṅkhyāyana Gṛhya sūtra* by Vāsudeva in his *Śānkhyāyanagṛhya saṅgraha*, is probably the father-in-law of Mātṛdatta.

Another important figure in this field was Karavindasvāmin or Karavindādhipa. He wrote a commentary on *Āpastamba Śulbasūtra.*[69] Karavindapura is identified with Kalakkāḍu, in Tirunelveli District. During the reign of Jaṭila Parāntaka, a Pāṇḍya ruler (765-815 A.D), one Māraṅkāri was holding an important office at Karava(i)ndapura, a fortified place. Mārankāri known also as Madhurakavi was a temple builder and supporter of Brahmins.[70] These show that probably Karavindasvāmi and Māraṅkāri were identical.

Apart from *Āpastamba Śulbasūtra* commentary he appears to have several other works in this field.[71]

Rāmāgnicit or Rāmāṇḍār of Kauśika gotra wrote a *Vṛtti* on the Bhāṣya of Dhūrtasvāmin[72] on *Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra.* This Rāmāgnicit is identified with Periyāḻvār. The evidences for these are as follows:

(1) *bhāgavata śeṣatvam 'kirayam śollum padiyāi peśuvār*
aḍiyārkaḷ entammai virukkavum peruvārkal' enṟu kalpasūtra
vyākhyānam paṇṇina periyāḻvar aruḷicceytār iti'.[73]

Thus Vedānta Deśika says on his *Rahasyatrayasāra.*

Here Periyāḻvār is referred to as having written a commentary on the *Kalpasūtra.* Periyāḻvar had the name *Bhaṭṭanātha.*

(2) Rāmāgnicit in his *Vṛtti* on Praśna. IV. Paṭala I. pp. 379-80 tries to deal with, in detail-Viṣṇu as the Supreme deity.

Under *'atma karotvātmana iti vijñānam mantraliṅgena' 'ātmane brahmaṇe ātmakarotviti vijñānamapi kartavyam yatkaroṣi yadaśnāsi* etc.

then follows

katham ātmane brahmaṇe ityucyate ucyate - ya ātmani tiṣṭhan ātmano antaro . . . . yasyātmā śarīram sa ātmeti jīvaśarīrake antaryāmini ātmaśabdaprayogāt tasya ca paramātmatvāt paramātmano brahmatvena sarvaśākhāprasiddhatvāt. nārāyaṇaḥ param brahma ātmā nārāyaṇaḥ paraḥ | iti nārāyaṇaparabrahma paramātmaśabdānām sāmānādhikaraṇyāt 'nārāyaṇam māhā jñeyam' iti sarvadā jñeyatvāt 'yadeva vidyayā karoti tadeva vīryavattaram iti śruteśca'.

(3) Bhāskarasomayāji *in his Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana* quotes thus:

pakṣam angīkarotyenam mantrabrāhmaṇabhāṣyakṛt.
iti atra mantrabrāhmaṇabhāṣyakṛt-rāmāṇḍār iti - taṭṭīkākāra atra.

Thus Rāmāgnicit was known as Rāmanāṇḍār.

(4) Rāmāgnicit is considered to be Viṣṇucitta according to the following verse.[74]

śrī ramāṇḍār nāmaka metac śrī viṣṇucitta racitam iti
prāhuḥ katicana bhuvane talliṅgam nātra paśyāmaḥ
Āpastambha Gṛhya sūtra tritīyaḥ praśne tritīyaḥ paṭalaḥ.

From Vedāntadeśika's reference in *Rahasyatrayasāra* given above Periyāḻvār or Bhaṭṭanātha wrote a commentary on the *Kalpasūtra*. Bhaṭṭanātha had the honorific title Viṣṇucitta. Thus the identity of Rāmāgnicit with Periyāḻvār is established by scholars.[75]

(5) Regarding the date of the author, scholars place him in the beginning of the 9th century. He quotes from *Tantra-vārttika* of Kumārila (1.2.17) in his Vṛtti on *Āpastambha Śrauta sūtra bhāṣya* (praś. VII.p.155). In the Tamil hymns of Periyāḻvār, the Pāṇḍya kings are referred to Viṣṇucitta or Bhaṭṭanātha stayed in the court of Vallabhadeva, the Pāṇḍya ruler at Kūḍal (South Madura).[76] Hence this date, as given by scholars, will be middle of 8th cent. or the beginning of 9th cent. A.D.[77]

Kapardisvāmin[78] wrote commentaries on *Āpastamba gṛhya* and *Śrauta sūtras.* Several commentators like Sudarśanācārya, Śūlapāṇi, Nīlakaṇṭha and others quote him. He was the earliest commentator on the *Āpastamba Śulba sūtra.* Since Naccinārkkiniyār, quotes from the *Kapardikārikā*[79] in his commentary on the *Jīvakacintāmaṇi*, his work must have been known in Tamil Nadu.

> *saṅgatāya varāya samarpyate svāminā tu vadhūr jalapūrvakam*
> *sthāpyate ca vivāhamahītale pāvako vidhivan madhuparkaḥ*
> (*Kapardikarikā*, Paṭala II. l.2).

Moreover Śrī Rāmānujācārya (llth cent. A.D.), mentions Kapardi by name. Hence he may be placed a few centuries prior to him whether this Kapardi referred to by *Viśiṣṭādvaita* philosophers is the same as the one who commented on the *Kalpasūtras* needs further clarification. His works are *Kaṅkas* on the *Āpastamba gṛhyasūtra* called also *Kapardikārikā bhāṣya* on *Cayanasūtra*, *Darśapūrṇamāsa-sūtra*, *Nakṣatreṣṭi* and others[80].

Śulbapradīpa[81] of Sundararāja of Kauśika gotra, son of Mādhavārya is a commentary on *Apastamba Śulbasūtrabhāṣya* of Karavinda.

Haradatta (c.ll00 A.D.) was one of the prominent Śaivites, who contributed to the field of Śaivism as well as the *Kalpasūtras.* Before giving references to his woṛks the proofs for his being a Southerner can be given. In his *Āśvalāyana gṛhya sūtra* commentary he refers to the banks of the river Kāverī[82]

> *dvitīye mantre asau śabdasya sthāne nadyā nāma*
> *saṁbuddhyā nirdeṣṭavyam yasyām vasanti yām*
> *upajīvanti ityarthaḥ yathā- tīreṇa kāveritayā iti*
> *nadī nirdeśaśca.*

In the introductory verse of his *Padamañjarī* he refers to himself as a Southerner.[83]

> *yaścirāya haradattasaṁjñayā viśruto daśasu dikṣu dakṣiṇaḥ*

The Cola country is mentioned in his commentary on *Āpastamba dharma sūtra.*[84]

> *yathā varṣam prajā dānam dūredarśanam manojavatā*
> *yaśca anyadevamyuktam /*
> *yadi vā coleṣvavasthitaḥ tadaiva himavantam didṛkṣeran*
> *tathaiva tad bhavati //*

Again in the same work he refers to the practice of worshipping the Sun God by the ladies of Draviḍa country .

> *pratijanapadam pratikūlam ca bhinnās tathaiva pratipattavyāḥ tatra drāviḍāḥ kanyā meṣasthe savitaryāditya pūjām ācaranti, bhūmau maṇḍalam ālikhya ityādīnyudāharaṇāni.*[85]

Besides these he gives Tamil equivalents for Sanskrit words.

In *Gautamadharmasūtrabhāṣya*, he refers to *sarali*, a Tamil word.

> *mauñji jyā maurvī sautryo mekhalāḥ krameṇa muñjau darbha viśeṣaḥ . . . . murvā āraṇyauṣadhi viśeṣaḥ saralīti draviḍa bhāṣāyaṁ.*[86]

He was a staunch devotee of Śiva and the introductory verses to his works prove this fact. He wrote *Āśvalāyana gṛhyamantrabhāṣya*,[87] *Anāvilā* commentary on *Āśvalāyana gṛhyasūtra* (*vyākhyā*),[88] *Āpastambaśrautavyākhyā*,[89] *Āpastambagṛhyasūtra vyākhyā* (*Anāvilā*),[90] *Āpastamba paribhāṣāvyākhyā*,[91] and *Āśvalāyana gṛhyamantra*.[92]

Devasvāmīn (1000-1050 A.D.)[93] was the author of *Āśvalāyana gṛhyasūtrabhāṣya*. Besides this, he has to his credit, several other texts on ritualistic side viz., *Agniṣṭomapaddhati* and others.

Tālavṛntanivāsin or Āṇḍapillai[94] (Āṇḍavilai or Āṇḍvila) was one of the important scholars who wrote commentaries mainly on *Āpastamba* and *Āśvalāyanasūtras* as also other *kalpasūtras*. He appears to have written manuals on ritualistic *prayogas*. The name of this author is significant as it shows him to be a resident of Tiruppanantāl i.e., Tālavṛṇta or may be of Panangudi, near Kumbhakonam, where the deity is called Āṇḍapillayār.[95] He belonged to the *Kauśika* gotra, a *Somapa* i.e., one who has performed the *Somayāga* and a *Traividyāvṛddha* (proficient in all the three *Vedas*).[96] Āṇḍapillai[97] is a Tamil, South Indian name as it appears. Āṇḍapillai Bhaṭṭa and a Sanskrit verse of his are found mentioned in the inscription of Kulottuṅga Cola.[98] Māravarman Śrī Vallabha (1160-1 A.D.) was a Pāndya King whose inscription at Sucindram mentions an Āṇḍapillai Bhaṭṭa Atirātrayajvan. So far as the names are concerned, either the Sanskrit one as Tālavṛntanivāsin or the Tamil one, Āṇḍapillai, shows certainly that he hailed from Tamil Nadu.

The manuscripts, especially the North Indian Mss. give the names variously as Keśava, Somapa or Kauśika. Probably the last two are only the title or the name of his *gotra*. The inscriptional references as Āṇḍapillai indicate that there

was probably a family or a class of people who had such a name, who were well-versed in Sanskrit and adepts in the performance of sacrifice. In his works he quotes several earlier commentators on the *Kalpasūtras*, viz., Dhūrtasvāmin, Devasvāmin, Siddhāntin and Nārāyaṇa. Since he is quoted by authors belonging to the 17th century A.D., he must have lived during 1600 A.D.

Of his several works mention may be made of *Āśvalāyana śrauta prayogavṛtti* (*dīpikā*), *Āpastamba śrauta prayogavṛtti* (*dīpikā*)[99], *Āpastamba gṛhyaprayogavṛtti* (*dīpikā*). and *Chāndogaśrautaprayogavṛtti* (*dīpikā*).[100] *Pauṇḍarīka* and *Śulbopadānakārikās*[101] are all parts of the above texts.

Laghu Vaidyanāthīya or *Smṛtimuktāphalasaṅkṣepa* evidently an abstract of Vaidyanātha's work, by Sivarāmamakhin, (c.1700 A.D.) is quoted in *Śrāddhanirṇaya*.[102]

Kārikāmañjarī[103] (*Baudhāyana Gṛhya kārikā* or *Baudhāyana smārtaprayoga*) is a metrical work written by Kanakasabhāpati (1700 A.D.), son of Vaidyanātha of Maudgalya gotra. It deals with *Pūrva* and *Aparaprayogas*. His other two works are *Mantrānukramaṇi*[104] and *Prayogādarśa*,[105] a commentary on *Kārikāmañjarī*.

Veṅkaṭamakhin or Veṅkaṭeśvara yajvan, was patronised by king Vijayarāghava Nāyak of Tanjore (1633-73 A.D.). He was a well-known musicologist and was the author of *Caturdaṇḍīprakāśikā*. His *Baudhāyana śrauta sūtra vyākhyā* is called *Karmāntavārttika*.[106] He was the son of Govindādhvarin or Govinda Dīkṣita.

umāpatim rāmanātham bodhāyana munīśvaram
govindādhvariṇam tātam vande sarvārthasiddhayē
iti śrīmad advaitavidyācārya sāgnicitya sarvatomukha
atirātra sāgnicityāpta vājapeya yāji govinda dīkṣitasya
varanandanasya śrī veṅkaṭeśvaradīkṣitasya kṛtiṣu
karmāntasūtravārttikam samāptam

Ānandarāyamakhin, minister of king Śāhaji and Serfoji wrote a commentary *Vṛtti* on *Āśvalāyanagṛhyasūtra*.[107] This work might have been written by a scholar of the royal court for him.

Mahādeva Vājapeyayājin was the son of Viśveśvara Adhvarin and Annapūrṇā. He was the father of Vāsudeva Dīkṣita, who wrote the commentary *Bālamanoramā* on *Siddhāntakaumudī*. Both father and son contributed largely to the field of *Bodhāyana kalpasūtras*. They belonged to the Śrīvatsa gotra and flourished during the 17th and 18th centuries. Mahādeva took part and served

as *adhvaryu* in the sacrifice performed by Tryambakarāya at Svāmimalai.[108] He also composed the commentary *Subodhinī* or *Candrikā* on *Baudhāyana śrauta sūtra* according to Bhavasvāmin under instructions from Tryambakarāya. This is referred to in this work.[109]

tad adhvaryu mahādeva vājapeyi tadājñayā
baudhāyanokta karmānta dvaidhakalpānusārataḥ (7)
vaitānikānam yajñānam bhavasvāmi matānugām
karmādhvagānām sugamam karoti śrautacandrikām

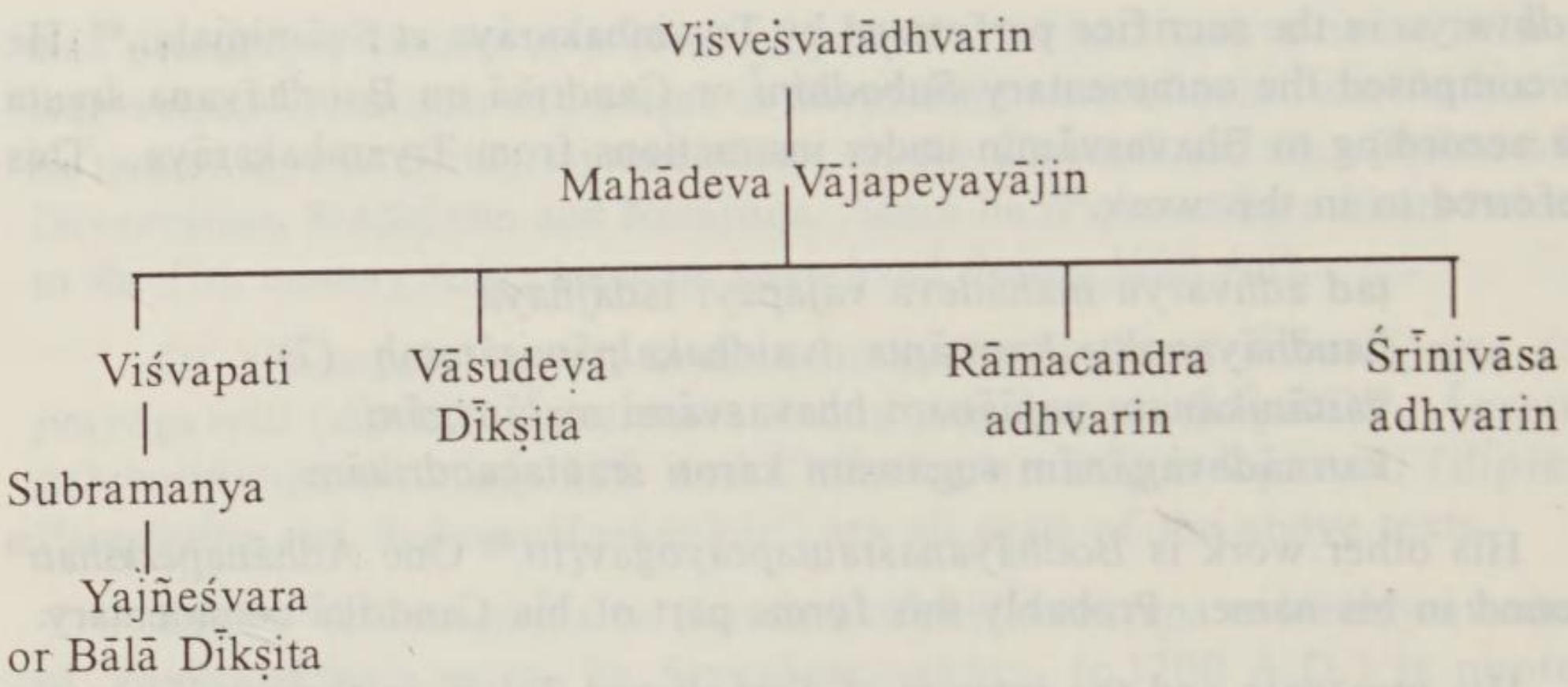
His other work is *Bodhāyanaśrautaprayogavṛtti.*[110] One *Ādhānapaddhati*[111] is found in his name. Probably this forms part of his *Candrikā* commentary.

His greatness and the interest of Serfoji and Tulajā in the sacrifices are referred to in the colophons to *Baudhayana śrauta śūtra Vyākhyā* of Vāsudeva.

iti santata santanyamāna śyenakūrma sārārtha
cakrakarādyanekaguṇa virājamāna mahāgnivilasat
prauḍha aneka mahādhvarasya śrī (sāha) śarabha
tula (si) jākhya cola mahīpāla traya amātya
dhurandharasya, pada-vākyapramāṇa pārāvārīṇasya
śrimatā ānandarāya vidvat sārvabhaumasya pañca-
puriṣipoṣyena bālya eva taddayā nirvartita
sāgnicityanekādhvareṇa tadadhvaryuṇā mahādeva
vājapeya yājisutena annapūrṇāgarbhajena vāsudevadīkṣita
viduṣā viracite mahāgnisarvasve ekaviṁśo adhyāyaḥ.[112]

Vāsudeva Dīkṣita, son of Mahādeva was an illustrious figure in the fields of *Kalpa*, *Mīmāṁsa* and *Vyākaraṇa*. He was associated with the ministers, Tryambakarāya and Ānandarāya. He took part in the sacrifice performed by Ānandarāya *at* Svāmimalai. Vāsudeva's contribution to the field of the *Kalpasūtras* is as follows: He wrote a commentary on *Bodhāyaṇa śrauta sūtra.*[113] He refers to *Ānandarāya - vidvat sārvabhauma.* His other work is *Kramapaddhati* for *Kāṭhakāgni.* On *Bodhāyana sūtra* he wrote *Prayogaratna.*[114] *Bodhāyana* śrautakarmapaddhati,[115] *Āpastamba śrauta prayoga kārikā*[116] *Mahāgnisarvasva*[117] are also his works.

Bālā Dīkṣita or Yajñeśvara was another scholar who enriched the field of *Kalpasūtras.* He belonged to this Mahādeva's family. He was the grandson of Viśvapati Dīkṣita and lived during the rule of Śivāji (A.D 1832-55). He stayed at Sāhajirājapuram or Tiruviśanallūr near Kumbhakoṇam.



He gives his genealogy in the *Bodhāyana Srauta Sūtra vyākhyā.*

śrīman viśvapatir nāma vedaśāstrārtha tattvavit
āsīt tasya sutas śrīmān subrahmaṇyā bhidhas sudhīh
agniṣṭomādi saṁsthānām āharta sarvasūtravit
tasya putro mahābuddhiḥ śrīmān yajñeśvarābhidhaḥ.
bodhāyanīya kalpārthā jñanopāyam yathāmati
karmāntaparibhaṣādi saṅgraham kurute mudā.[118]

He wrote *Baudhāyana śrauta sūtra vyākhyā,*[119] *Ādhānādiprayoga,*[120] *Agnïṣṭomaprayoga*, composed under instructions from his patron, Śivāji,[121] *Āgrayaṇaprayoga.*[122]

Nārāyaṇa, son of Divākara Dvivedārya or Divākarṛddhi of Naidhruvakāśyapa gotra, wrote a commentary on *Āśvalāyana gṛhyasūtra.*[123] He mentions Devasvāmin in the beginning of the work.

Bālāgnihotrin, a native of Nāgārjunagrāma, wrote the commentary on *Jaiminīyagṛhyasūtra.*[124] He was a resident of Śrīraṅgam on the banks of the river Kāverī.[125] The introductory verses of this work run thus:

nāgārjunagrāmamahi śiromaṇiḥ yaḥ sāma dugdāmbudhi
mantha mantharaḥ. prāhuśca yam veṅkaṭanātha dīkṣitam
tam yāyajūkam munim ānatosmyaham kāveri toyapānād
asakṛdapi sarve somapānāccāpi samyak ||

śrī raṅga kṣmāpater yat tilakitavadanan tasya sandarśanācca aśrāntam
śuddhaceta gurupadanuta dhīḥ jñātaśāstrārtha tattvaḥ.
śriman bālāgnihotrī viśadayati muner jaiminer gṛhya karma.

Veṅkaṭanātha Dīkṣita referred to here is Bālāgnihotrin's father. This has been clearly shown by V. Raghavan from manuscript evidences.

In *Dhāraṇālakṣana* of Sabhāpati, manuscript of which is available in the India Office Library,[126] a few verses are given by the copyist Rāmakṛṣṇa, son of Raṅganātha of Kausika gotra, eulogising Veṅkaṭanātha Dīkṣita of Viśvāmitra gotra. He is praised as the resuscitator of the *Talavakāra* (*Jaiminīya*) school of the *Sāmaveda*. His son Bālāgnihotrin is said to be a scholar well-versed in *Sāmaveda*, grammar, music and poetry.

Veṅkaṭeśvara Dīkṣita of Govindapura, son of Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa Śrauti composed commentaries on *Baudhāyana Kalpasūtras* as also ritualistic texts. He was the pupil of Raghunātha Dīkṣita and Yajñeśvarācārya.

iti bodhāyanīyacayanaprayogaḥ samāptaḥ
iti śrī govindapuravāstavya bodhāyanādi
ṣaṭsūtra pārāvāriṇa lakṣmīnārāyaṇaśrautivarya
garbhasambhava raghunātha dīkṣita sarvatantra
svatantra śrī yajñeśvarācārya kṛpā prāpta
śrautaśāstra dhurandhara śriman mahārājarāja
śrī śarabhendrāśrita śrī veṅkaṭeśvara dīkṣita
viracita bodhayanīya mahāgni cayanaprayogaḥ
samāptim agamat.[127]

He wrote *Bodhāyanamahāgnicayanaprayoga,*[128] the *Bodhāyanasūtravṛttisubodhinīsāra,*[129] the *Baudhāyanaprayogaratna.*[130] In the last work he says that he wrote this work for being memorised by youngsters.

kaṇṭhapāṭhāya bālānaṁ bodhayanamatānugaṁ
prayogaratnaṁ tanute veṅkaṭeśvara dīkṣitaḥ.

He also wrote a commentary, the *Śulbamīmāṁsā* on *Bodhāyanaśulbasūtra*[131] *Mīmāṁsāvārttikābharaṇa*[132] and *Sāmaprayoga.*[133] Another work of his is *Agniṣṭomaprayoga (Bauḍh.)*[134] and a *Mantrānukramaṇi.*[135]

Āpastambagṛhyasūtra *vyākhyā Tātparyadarśana* is by Sudarśanācārya.

No other detail is available about this author, excepting the quotations given above. From his name we can presume that he belonged to South India and he was later than Kapardi as he refers to him.

tebhyo apavargado yasya tam namāmyaham harim
yat kṛtam vedavad bhāṣyam ādriyante vipaścitaḥ

sa kapardī ciram jīyāt vedavedārtha tattvavit
śudarśanāryah kurute gṛhyatātparyanirṇayam
kevalam vaidikaśraddhā prerito mandadhīrapi.[136]
āpastambena yo ayam vyaraci bhagavatā śulbasamjño
gabhīraḥ praśnoarthe tasya bhāṣyaprabhṛtiṣu
kathitam vistṛtam vīkṣya kṛtīnām
saṁkṣipyodbodhanārtham kuśikakulanidher mādhavāryasya
yastuḥ putraśśulbapradīpam vivaraṇam adhunā sundaro nirmimīte

Sundararāja, whom we can claim to belong to Tamil Nadu from the name of the author, belonged to the Kauśika gotra and was the son of Mādhavārya, a performer of sacrifices. He wrote *Śulbapradīpavivaraṇa* as an abstract from the earlier commentaries.

Aṇṇādhvarin or Kṛṣṇamārya of Sukhāsīnapura, near Kumbhakoṇam, belonged to the Bhāradvāja gotra and the family of Parāśara. The author salutes God of Maṅgalagiri.

A *Śrautaprayogavṛtti* or *Aukhīyadīpikā* or *Vaikhānasa-śrautaprayoga Kḷpti* belonging to the Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda is found in his name. This is a small practical manual for the use of officiating priests. There is a reference to the manuscript being transcribed at Sukhāsīnapura near Kumbhakonam and Tiruviḍaimarudūr.

The following information is found in the end of this manuscript.

(a) *srimadaukhyarṣiprokte ekaviṁśanmahāyajña prabodha*
kalpasūtre ekonaṣaṣṭyadhikatriṁsatkhaṇḍātmake
pañcaśatādhika pañcaśatottaracatuḥsahasragranthā
tmakoprāyaścittaviniyogo nāma ekonaviṁśaḥ praśnaḥ.

(b) *pārāśaryasyaanvayasambhavena vālmīki śiṣyasya tu*
gotrajena śrī kṛṣṇamārya adhvariṇā prayogakḷpti
kṛtau svīyakṛtān samāpta

(c) *hāyane citrabhānau tu paurṇamāsyām mārgaśīrṣake*
kaveratanayā udīcyām kumbhaghoṇasya prāgdiśi
madhyārjuṇasya vāyavyām śukhāsīna purottame
tasmin aṇṇādhvarīndreṇa proktā aukhīyadīpikā

There were two divisions, it seems, among the Taittirīyas, viz., Aukheyas and Khaṇḍikeyas. From the colophon given we understnad that this *Śrauta Sūtra* was either composed by Aukheya or belonged to this *śākhā* and Vikhanasa promulgated it.[137] Hence the probable conclusion is that Aṇṇādhvarin wrote

Aukhīyadīpikā and that there was some relationship of this school with the *Vaikhānasas.* Pāṇini also refers to the two schools of the Taittirīyas, viz., *Aukhīyas* and *Khaṇḍikīyas.*[138] Tirumala, son of Mallayajvan of Mādhava Somayāji family wrote commentaries on *Ādhāna* and *Nirūḍhapaśubandha*[139] sections of the *Āpastamba śrauta sūtra.*

Āśvalāyana Prayogadīpika[140] was by Tirumala Somayājin, son of Tirumala Yajvā.

One Śiṅgābhaṭṭa wrote *Āpastambapūrvaprayogapaddhati*[141] which is probably the same as *Āpastambaprayoga* (*laghusiṅgābhaṭṭīya*).[142] He also wrote *Āpastambasaṁskāraprayoga.*[143]

Aṇṇā Dīksita wrote several tracts in the field of *Kalpasūtras.* His works are *Āpastamba agnihotraprayoga,*[144] *Bodhayànadarśa pūrṇamāsaprayoga,*[145] *Āpastamba darśapūrṇamāsa.*[146]

Kāmakoṭi Dīkṣita, son of Nārāyaṇa Somayājin of Bhāradvāja gotra, is referred to as the author of *Āpastamba agnihotra-rakṣāmaṇi*[147] in five *mayūkhas.* But in a few other manuscripts[148] this work is ascribed to Rāmacandra Dīkṣita, son of Ananta Somayājin who wrote a commentary on this work.[149] Since Rāmacandra salutes Lord Naṭarāja of Cidambaram, he might have been a resident of that place or a nearby city.

yam santaḥ phama (ladam) matvā yatnāt karmaṇi kurvate
cita (da) mbareśam ālambe tam sadambikayā saha

Gārgya Gopālayajvan, son of Nṛsiṁha and pupil of Vādhūla Raṅgarāja, wrote commentaries *Rahasyaprakāśa* on *Āpastambaśulbasūtra,*[150] *Āpastambapitṛmedhanibandha,*[151] *Āpastambapitṛmedhaprayoga,*[152] and *Bhāradvājapitṛmedhasūtra,*[153]

Veṅkaṭeśa or Veṅkaṭanātha Vājapeyin of Vatsa gotra, was the author of *Baudhāyanaśulbakārikā,*[154] *Prāyaścittaśatadvayī,*[155] and *Śulbakārikā.*[156]

Upagranthas

Varadarāja of Kauśika gotra, was the son of Vāmanārya and grandson of Anantanārāyaṇa Yajvan.[157] He wrote a commentary *Vṛtti* on *Ārṣeyakalpa* or *Maśakakalpa*[158] and another one on *Pratīhārasūtra* of *Upagrantha.*[159] Also on *Nidhanasūtra*[160], the 10th Paṭala of *Upagranthasūtra* belonging to the *Sāmaveda,* a *vṛtti* was written by him. This commentary on *Pratīhārasūtra* of Kātyāyana, the fourth and the last *prapāṭhaka* of *Upagranthasūtra* was probably called *Dāśatayi.*[161] He appears to have written *Ārṣeya Kalpavṛtti.*[162]

Appā Śāstrin *alias* Śrīnivasa (C.1700 A.D.) of Kauśika gotra hailed from Ikkeri. He belonged to the Prayāga family and was known as Pūrṇānanda yati after he took up the fourth āśrama. He wrote *Upagranthadīpa*[163] and *Prāyaścittadīpa*.[164]

Veṅkaṭeśvara Śāstrin, Appā Śāstrin's son, well-known as Sāmavedi Veṅkaṭeśvara Dīkṣita, who hailed from Kaṇḍaramāṇikkam village, was the author of *Upagranthasūtrabhāṣya* or *Saṅgrahavyākhyā*,[165] a commentary on *Upagranthasūtra*. Śrīnivāsa Śrautin, son of Rāmacandrācārya, corrected this text.[166]

Śrīnivāsācārya Śatakratu Caturvedin, was the pupil of Śatakratu Tātācarya. He wrote a commentary on *Kṣudrakalpa*.[167]

A family of Hoṣiṅga Karṇāṭakas (belonging to Karnataka) came under the patronage of Tanjore Mahratta rulers. There were two prominent figures in this family both bearing the name Vāñcheśvara. The elder one Vāñcheśwara I, known also as Bālakavi or Kuṭṭikavi, belonged to the Viśvāmitra gotra, Āśvalāyana sūtra. He was patronised by Pratāpasiṁha (1741-64 A.D.). His contributions were to the *stotra* and ritualistic fields.[168]

Vāñchesvara I,[169] wrote a work on *Śrāddha*, called *Śrāddhacintāmaṇi*.[170]

Vāñcheśvara II (1760-1830 A.D.) of Kamakāyana family, Viśvāmitra gotra, was the son of Nṛsimha, grandson of Mādhavārya and great-grandson of Vāñcheśvara I (*śleṣakavisārvabhauma*). He salutes Īśvara, Śrīnivāsācārya and Ahobala.[171] He was patronised by Śaṅkarācārya of Kāñci besides Serfoji II. Besides a commentary on *Mahiṣaśataka* of his great grandfather, he wrote a commentary on the *Hiraṇyakeśīya* (*sāmānya*) *sūtra*.[172] This was composed in 1738 A.D.[173]

His other works are the commentary on *Mahiṣaśataka*,[174] written in 1814 A.D. *Kākatālīyavādārtha*, *Malamasanirṇaya* and *Vidvanmanohara*, *Dattacintāmaṇi*, *Brahmasūtrārthacintāmaṇi* and a Commentary *Bhāṭṭacintāmaṇi* on *Bhāṭṭadipikā* of Khaṇḍadeva.

UPANIṢAD COMMENTARIES

In Tamil Nadu, several commentaries and super-commentaries were written by the preceptors belonging to different schools of Philosophy like *Advaita*, *Viśiṣṭādvaita* and *Dvaita*. These systems were established by the interpretations of the selected Upaniṣadic passages, as suited to their schools.

Of these, Dramiḍācārya was the earliest scholar, who wrote a super-commentary, *Dramiḍa bhāṣya*, on the *Vākya* of Brahmanandin on *Chāndogya*. His name indicates that he probably belongs to Tamil Nadu. His work though not available now, is quoted by prominent writers.

'*dramiḍācārya, praṇītamākhyāyikām avatāryāti*'
(by Anandagiri).

Toṭakācārya in his *Śrutisārasamuddharaṇa* says thus:

'*Draviḍo api ca tatvamasīti*
vaco vinivartakameva nirūpitavān'.

Besides this he appears to have written a *Bṛhadāraṇyakavākyabhāṣya.*[175]

Advaita

One of the earliest commentators of Tamil Nadu on Advaita was by Śaṅkarānanda (1275-1350 A.D.). He was the pupil of Ānandātmā and Vidyātīrtha. Probably he had his education under Anandātmā and got initiated by Vidyātirtha. Regarding his nativity, it is generally believed that he lived in Madhyārjuna or Tirviḍaimarudūr. Śaṅkarānanda in his *Ātmapurāṇa* says thus:-

idam gurus svasiṣyāya kāverītīravāsine |
uktavān śraddhadhānāya snehādeva ca kevalam |[176]

He has written commentaries on major and minor *Upaniṣads.* His contributions to commentorial literature especially on the *Upaniṣads* are very rich.

Acyutakṛṣṇānanda Tīrtha (1650-1750 A.D.) was the pupil of Svayamprakāśānanda Tīrtha, Sarvajña and Advaitānanda Sarasvatī. He was also a commentator on the Upaniṣads. He is the author of the following commentaries:

1. *Kaṭhopaniṣadbhāṣyaṭīka*[177]
2. *Chāndogyopaniṣad vivaraṇa*[178]
3. *Taittirīyopaniṣad bhāṣya vyākhyā*[179]

Sivānandayati (17th cent.), an Advaitin, was another scholar who belonged to Tamil Nadu. He wrote super commentaties on the *Śaṅkarabhāṣya* of the following *Upaniṣads*-

Īśāvāsyopaniṣadbhāṣya,[180] *Kenopaniṣadbhāṣya*,[181] *Muṇḍakopaniṣadbhāṣya*,[182] and *Talavakāropaniṣadbhāṣya*,[183]

Upaniṣadbrahmayogin's contributions to commentorial literature and *bhakti* cult was immense. He lived in Kāñci during 17th century and was a great devotee of Rāma. He has written brief commentaries on almost all the major and minor *Upaniṣads*.[184]

Puruṣottamatīrtha has written a metrical commentary on the *Taittirīyāraṇ yaka Ṭājñikyupaniṣad ānanada* which is an abridgement of Sāyaṇa's commentary.[185] In this work he pays obeisance to his preceptors Śivarāmatīrtha.

śrī rāmam kāśikakāntam śaṅkarācāryam uttamam
sureśam vārttikācāryam naumi vidyā gurūn api
brahmāmṛta pracura śaṅkarāsyarājad rāmāyaṇāmṛta
rasajña vijñān
svah śreyasaprada kṛpānilayān praṇaumi
svah śreyasāya mahate śivarāmatīrthān

Appayya Dīkṣita, whose identity is not clear wrote a commentary *Bhāṣya* on the *Nirvāṇopaniṣad*.[186]

Nārāyaṇāśrami, of unknown date, was the author of a commentary *Dīpikā* on *Ātmaprabodhopaniṣad*.[187] In this *Upaniṣad* explanation of *Praṇava* and experiencing the bliss of the Supreme Being by meditating the *Aṣṭākṣarīmantra* and the *Praṇava* are described.

On the *Advayatārakopaniṣad*, Srimad Appaya Śivācārya, resident of Tāmaraparni, disciple of Sundara Tātācarya wrote a *Bhāṣya*.[188] This *Upaniṣad* is so called because it takes one across the fear of pregnancy, birth, old age and death.

garbhajanmajarāmaraṇa bhayāt
santārayati tasmāt tārakam iti
jiveśvarau māyikāviti vijñāya
sarva viśeṣam neti neti vihāya yad
avaśiṣyate tat advayam brahma.

Then two types of *tārakas*, *tāraka* and *amanaska* are explained.

The characteristics of a guru are given thus:

taddarśanam ācāryamūlam
ācāryo vedasampannaḥ viṣṇubhakto vimatsaraḥ

yogajño yogānuṣṭhaśca sadā yogātmakaśucī
gurubhakti samāyuktaḥ puruṣajño viśeṣataḥ
evam lakṣaṇa sampūrṇaḥ gururityabhidhīyate

Abhinava Nārāyaṇa Sarasvatī, who flourished during early 18th century, wrote super commentaries on several major and minor *Upaniṣads* - *Aitareyopaniṣadbhāṣyaṭīkā*,[189] *Chāndogyopaniṣadbhāṣyaṭīkā*,[190] *Praśnopaniṣadbhāṣyaṭīkā*,[191] and *Muṇḍakopaniṣadbhāṣyaṭīkā*.[192]

The author was the pupil of Jñānendra Sarasvatī, who was a pupil of Kaivalyendra.

Viśiṣṭādvaita

It was already referred to that the preceptors belonging to different schools based their arguments on the Upaniṣadic texts to establish their views.

Viṣṇucitta, who lived during 815-62 A.D., wrote a commentary on the *Taittirīyopaṇiṣad*,[193] Kūra *Nārāyaṇa* who belonged to the 14th century also wrote a commentary on *Taittirīyopaṇiṣad*. He also wrote a commentary on *Īśāvāsya*[194] and *Māṇḍūkya Upaṇisads*.[195] Sudarśana sūri, the well known commentator on *Śrībhāṣya*, wrote *vivaraṇa* on *Subālopaṇisad*.[196]

Veṅkaṭanātha Vedānta Deśika, one of the foremost exponents of *Viśiṣṭādvaita* philosophy and religion, wrote a *bhāṣya* on *Īśāvasyopaniṣad*.[197] He interprets the *Upaniṣad* in the light of the *Brahmasūtra* as this *upaniṣad* deals with the Supreme Being as *Ātman*. Firstly it gives an account of the nature of the Lord, the ultimate category, then secondly the proper means for the realization of Him, and lastly the ultimate goal (*puruṣārtha*). These three according to Viśiṣṭādvaitins are *Tattva*, *Hita* and *Puruṣārtha*.

Govindarāja, who hailed from Kāñci, was a well known commentator on the Epic *Rāmāyaṇa*. He wrote a Commentary *Mitākṣara* on *Taittirīyopaniṣad*.[198]

Vātsya Nārāyaṇa, pupil of Mahācārya (1509-91 A.D.), wrote *Vivaraṇas* on *Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad* and *Śvetāśvataropaniṣad*.[199]

Raṅgarāmanujamuni, was the pupil of Pañcamatabhañjana Tātācarya and Vātsya Anantācārya. He had the title *Upaniṣadbhāṣyakāra* for his commentaries on the ten major *Upaniṣads* and six other minor *Upaniṣads viz.*, *Agnirahasya*, *Atharvaśikhā*, *Kauṣītakī*, *Māntrika*, *Śvetāśvatara* and *Subālopaniṣad*.[200]

Recently commentaries were produced by a few scholars. Nāvalpākkam Tātācāryasvāmin (1877-1963 A.D.), son of Veṅkaṭācārya and Lakṣmī wrote *Ānandavallīvyākhyā* and *Kaṭhacaturthavallīvyākhya*.[201]

Govardhana Raṅgācārya, was a South Indian Śrī Vaiṣṇava, settled in Bṛndāvan. He belonged to the 19th Century. He wrote a commentary on *Dramiḍopaniṣad.*[202]

Smṛti, Dharmaśāstra

Pāṭṭarācārya (Kauśika), second son of Nṛsimhācārya, (who wrote *Smṛtimīmāṁsā* and a commentary on *Bhāratacampū)* and Rāmānujāmbā, (daughter of Caturvedi Pāṭṭarācārya), contributed to the field of Inheritance. He was the author of *Dattacandrikā.*[203]

The colophon to this work giving details about the author's family runs thus:

> *iti śrī kauśikavaṁśajaladhi kaustubhasya bhāgavata-campū vyākhyā vikhyāta medhāvaibhavasya manvādidharmaśā-strapāradṛśvanaḥ smṛtimīmāṁsākhya dharmaśāstra nibandhana nirmātuḥ vedāntācāryāparāvatārasya śrī nṛsiṁhācāryasya dvitīyasūnunā śatakratucaturvedi śrīmad pāṭṭārācārya dauhitreṇa, rāmānujāmbā garbhasambhavena paramaguru kṛpālabdha padavākyapramāṇa pārāvāra pāriṇena śrīmat pāṭṭrācāryeṇa viracitāyām dattacandrikāyām pañcamollāsaḥ.*

Ranganāthasūri wrote *Dattaratnāpaṇa* or *Dattamahodadhi*[204] in five *paricchedas.* The author was the son of Śrīnivāsa.

Colophon:

> *iti padendupura* (kadendupura) *vāstavya raṅganāthasūri viracitam dattaratnāpaṇam sampūrṇam.*

Dattaratnākara[218]is by Dharmarāja adhvari, son of Mādhavādhvarīndra and Jānaki and grandson of Dharmarāja adhvari, author of *Vēdānta Paṅthāsā.*[206]

Colophon:

> *iti śrī maṇḍakuṇḍa agrahāranāyaka ratnabhūta mādhvādhvarīndra tanūjena jānakī somapīthinī-garbhasūktimuktāmaṇinā tattādṛg bodhāyana dharmarāja adhvari śikhāmaṇi dauhitreṇa dharmarāja adhvarivareṇa viracito dattaratnākaro viduṣām mudam ādadhātu.*

Vaidyanātha Dīkṣita (16th cent. A.D.), was a *smārta advaitin* and belonged to the Vādhūla gotra.

His *Dharmaśāstra* treatise, *Smṛtimuktāphala*[207] is a well-known digest, produced in Tamil Nadu. It was also followed by Vaiṣṇavas on *Varṇāśrama, āhnika, śrāddha, prāyaścitta*, and *Kāla*.

Another work in the field of Dharma is *Dharmaśastra-saṅgraha*[208] of Rāmakṛṣṇa Sarasvatī, disciple of Nārāyaṇendra Sarasvatī.

Iti paramahaṁsa parivrājakācārya śrī nārāyaṇendra sarasvatīśiṣya rāmakṛṣṇendra sarasvatī viracite dharmasāra saṅgrahe varṇotpattiyugadharma prakaraṇam samāptam.

In the beginning of the work, the author pays obeisance to Dakṣiṇāmūrti; *Rāmakṛṣṇa yatirāḍ dakṣiṇāsya kṛpa vāśāt.* He says that he had gone through the *Smṛti* texts and writes this work for those who want to gain proper knowledge by reading a small tract: *alpaśrutena bahula grantha grahaṇamicchatām.*

He even adds that he has not invented and postulated any theory, but he only writes the sayings of earlier *Smṛti* writers. The following are the sections:

1. *Varṇotpattiyuga dharma prakaraṇa*
2. *Ācamana*
3. *Dantadhāvana*
4. *Darbhatithi*
5. *Naimittikasnāna*
6. *Malāpakarṣaṇa*
7. *Snāna*
8. *Vastradhāraṇa*
9. *Ūrdhvapuṇḍratripuṇḍra*
10. *Yajñopavīta*
11. *Sandhyā*
12. *Brahmayajña*
13. *Madhyāhnasnāna*
14. *Tarpaṇa*
15. *Vaiśvadeva*
16. *Devapūjā*
17. *Gurupūjā*
18. *Nityaśrāddha*
19. *Atithi*
20. *Śayaṇalakṣaṇa.*

Appādhvarin or Appākavi[209] of Kiḻiyūr, took part in the sacrifice conducted by Tryambakarāya. He belonged to the Śrīvatsa gotra and the son of Cidambaramakhin and pupil of Udayamūrti and grand pupil of Piḻḻai Sāstrin of Ālattūr village near Mayuram. King Śāhaji, who had a great liking for listening to puraṇic expositions, brought Appādhvarin to his court and listened to Appādhvarin's exposition of the *Mahābhārata*, day and night, for three months. The king asked him to compile *Ācāranavanīta*.

Ācāranavanīta is a digest of *Dharmaśāstra*, on funeral and the *Śrāddha* ceremonies in four *kāṇḍas*. 1. *Ācāra* 2. *Śrāddha* 3. *Dravyaśuddhi* and 4. *Kālanirṇaya*.[210] This was compiled between 1696 and 1703 A.D. There are two

other works found in his name, *Prāyaścittavidhi*[211] *and Śrāddhanirūpaṇa* or *Appayyadīkṣitīya Śrāddhakāṇḍa.*[212] Probably these two form part of *Ācāranavinīta.* He wrote two more works in the field of *kāvya*, which will be dealt with in that section.

Smṛtidīpika[213] was by Aṇṇā Dīkṣita, son of Brahmajñāni Kṛṣṇaśāstrin of Puttūr. He says in the beginning of the work that he consulted several earlier *smṛtiṣ* and wrote this work.

praṇipatya jagannātham puṇḍarīkākṣam avyayam
sarvasmṛtih samālokya vakṣyate smṛtidīpikā

On pollution a few treatises were written by scholars from Tamil Nadu. Of these *Aghapañcaṣaṣṭi*[214] in 65 or 66 verses was by Kalānidhi Vīḻinātha of Kauśika gotra.

Two commentaries on this were written, one by Rāmācandrabudha and another by Appaya Dīkṣita of Māyavaram. The commentary *Smṛtisiddhāntasudhā*[215] is by the former.

Appayaya Dīkṣita *alias* Avadhāna (ni) Vājapeyin belonged to Māyavaram. He was the son of Rāyamakhin and pupil of Yajñeśvara. Rāmachandra Budha's younger cousin was Appayaya Dīkṣita who wrote the commentary *Sajjanassahajīvanī* on Vīḻinātha's *Aghapancaṣaṣṭi*[216] and this commentary was based upon Rāmacandra Budha's commentary.

Aghanirṇaya is by Pañcanadeśa[217].

Dharmarāja, 'resident of Erakara village near Kumbhakonam' was the son of Viśwanātha. His contribution to this field was *Aghanirṇayasāra.*[218]

Aghavivecana[219] by Rāmacandrādhvarin, son of Anantasomayājin of Bhāradvāja gotra, is also another work on pollution.

Vaidika Sārvabhauma or Hārīta Veṅkaṭācārya or Tolappar or Mitratrāta[220] was a Śrīvaiṣṇavite, who flourished in the 15th - 16th cent. A.D. He was the pupil of the first Pontiff of Ahobila Math. Tolappar belonged to Maṇappākkam in Chingleput District. He was the grandson of Sarasvatī Vallabha and son of Śrī Raṅganāthārya:

sarasvatī vallabhasūri pautraḥ śrī raṅganāthārya sutassuśīlaḥ.
yajurnidhir vyakṛta veṅkaṭeśaḥ viṣṇuprasādād aghanirṇayam saḥ.

Tolappar's most important work is the *Aghanirṇaya* or *Āśaucanirṇaya* (*śataka*)[221] with commentary *Smṛtisārasarvasva.* This work had wide popularity

and many commentaries were written on it. Of these one was by Rāmānuja Dīkṣita called *Aghanirṇayavyākhyā* and another *Aghanirṇayadīpikā* by a different Rāmānuja Yajvan. A Tamil commentary was by Vīrarāghava of Vasiṣṭha gotra, son of Tiruvalappa. An epitome of Hārīta's *Aghanirṇaya*, the *Aghasaṅgraha*[222] with commentary[223] by Mahāgaṇapati, son of Kṛṣṇa of Pattam village, near Kumbhakonam is also available.

Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita, son of Appaya Dīkṣita wrote *Aghaviveka* in six *prakaraṇas.*[224]

> *Śrimad advaita vidyācārya appaya dīkṣitasya bhāradvāja kulajaladhi kaustubhasya śrī dakṣiṇāmūrter avatārasya varasunor nīlakaṇṭha dīkṣitasya kṛtau aghaviveka avaśiṣṭa prakriyā nāma pañcamam (ṣaṣṭam) prakaraṇam.*

A few other works belonging to this branch are *Āśaucasaṅgraha*[225] by Veṅkaṭeśa, based upon *Ācāranavanīta*, *Aghanirṇaya*, *Aghaviveka ṣaḍaśīti* and *Trimsacchloki*, *Āsaucasaṅgraha*[226] of Vaidyanātha Dīkṣita, from his *Smṛtimuktāphala.*

Veṅkaṭavīrarāghavācārya wrote *Āśaucasāmānyanirukti*[227]on pollution, relating to birth and death of a relative. The author quotes a work *Dharmābdhisāra* in the end.

> *dharmābdhisāra kṛtān siddhāntatattvān jñātum eva*
> *āśauca sāmānyam* etc.

Colophon:

> *iti veṅkaṭavirarāghavācārya kṛtiṣu*
> *āśaucasāmānyaniruktiḥ samāptā.*

From the reference to *kṛtiṣu*, surmise can be made that he wrote a few other works also.

Patitasamāgama prāyaścitta is a *dharma śāstra nibandha.* It is a compilation made under instructions from Sarabhoji, by Pundits from different villages namely Ambāpura, Ekarājapura, Sāharājapura, Pañcanada and Melakkāveri.

> *udyad hastāgrajāgrad kanakamaya dhanurvallarī*
> *naddha maurvī madhyodgachcha charaugha*
> *pratihata vimatorvīśa bhinnārka bimbaḥ*
> *sarvajñaḥ śarvapūjābala samadhigata*
> *prājya sāmrājya*

yogaḥ prekṣāvat pakṣapāṭī jayatu
śarabhajīkṣoṇi - bhṛt sārvabhaumaḥ
ambapuradvayavāsair ekarāja purasthitaiḥ
śāharājapurasthaiśca melkāveri sthitair api
tathā pañcanadāvāsair militaiśca tathā parair
ālokya sarvaśāstrāṇi yathāmati vicāritaḥ
asau vyalekhi śāstrārtho grāhyam atra yathocitam.[228]

Varadarāja was a resident of a place in Kāñcīpuram near Vegavati river. He was the grandson of Praṇatārtihara of Kiḍāmbi family and Ātrcyagotra. He must have flourished during the 13th or 14th century A.D.

Vyavahāranirṇaya[229], on law, written by him is the best treatise in this field. It is modelled on the Commentary *Mitākṣarā* on *Yajñavalkyasmṛti*. This author with his thorough knowledge in the *Mimāsāstra* and *Nyāyaśāstra*- very clearly interprets the Smṛti texts. The procedure (*vyavahāramātṛkā*) and substantive law (*vyavahāra*) are clearly and thoroughly dealt with. His opinion on the decision of trials are unique and practical. He says that mere scriptural knowledge is of no use in arriving at a decision, reason should also be applied in imparting justice as otherwise violation may creep in. He appears to have written a work on Mīmāmsā also, based upon *Śābarabhāṣya* and Prābhākara's views.

Notes and References

1. *TSS.* 96, Intro. pp.5-6. See C.K.Raja. Intro. p. 16 of *Ṛgvedānukramaṇi. Mad. Uni. Skt Ser.* 2. 1932.

2. *Ṛgvedānukramaṇi*, University of Madras, 1932. See also C.K.Raja, *JOR. Madras* V, pp. 316-25.

3. Adyar D.I. 1055.

4. *Hosalādhīśvaro pṛthvīm Rāmanāthaḥ práśāsati vyākhyā kṛteyam śrīraṅge vasata maya.*

   See p. 7. C.K. Raja's edn. of *Sāmaveda* with Bharatasvāmin's Commentary *ALS.* 26, 1941; Col. Verse on p. 99.

5. *Ittham Śrī Bharatasvāmī kāśyapo yajñadā, sutaḥ*
   Nārāyaṇārya tanayo vyākhyāt sāmnām ṛco' khilāḥ.

   See p. 410. Col. verse of Adyar edn.

6. *ALS* 26, 1941.

7. *Kendriya Skt. Vidyā Pīṭha*, Tirupati, 1964.
8. MT. 5477. See Intro. pp. 6-7. Adyar edn. 26, 1941.
9. *GOS.* edn. Intro. p. 12.
10. *Mysore Govt. Ori. Ser.Bib.Skt.* 28, 1902.
11. MD. 15714 by Naidhruva Veṅkaṭeśa.
12. MT. 16064.
13. (1) Kumbakonam. (2) Vāṇī Vilās Press, Srirangam.
14. MT. 2163(a). Mysore D.I. 605.
15. *ALB.* IV. iv. *Mss Notes.* pp. 136-7.
16. Śri Vaiṣṇava Sudarśamam VIII.iii.P.2. (*Viṣṇucitta vijaya*)
16a. Adyar D.I.624; MT. 7040.
17. MT. 2299(a).
18. MD. 212. 16659 (inc.).
19. MD. 10111-13.
20. Adyar D.I. 626. MT. 6403.
21. MT. 783.
22. MT. 5090 (a) *iti Gautamasya Mukundanārāyaṇadāsasya sarvakratuyājinaḥ Śrī Raṅganāthasya kṛtau puruṣasūkta bhāṣyam sampūrṇam.*
23. *FISC.* I. ii. p. 691.
24. (1). Kanci, 1899. (2). *Śāstramuktāvalī Ser.* No.9. 1901.
25. Ed. by A. Srinivasaraghavan, Pudukkottai, 1937.2nd edn Delhi,1996. For the identity of the author, see Eng.Intro. pp. xxxiv. in this edn.
26. See pp. 16-17. Ajanta Publications, 1979.
26a. MD. 24.25
27. MT. 3229(c). Beg. *śaṭharipu-deśika-karuṇāpūra-pariprāpta sarvaśāstrārthaḥ. kauśika-Govindāryaḥ kalayati vivṛtim śriyāstu sūktasya.* Col. *Govindarājena Śrīsūkta vivṛtiḥ kṛtā.*
28. Aithal P. 263-64.

29. *Ibid. Veda-lakṣaṇa* VL. (Vedic Ancillary Literature). A Descriptive Bibliography compiled by K. Paramesvara Aithal. Motilal Banarasidass Publishers Private Ltd., Delhi 1993.

30. MT. 2359. Prob. *Kāṇvaśākhāmāhātmya* of Kṛṣṇa Sūri, BORI. 55 of 1902-7 may be the same as *Vedārthanirūpaṇa*. Ptd. in Madras, 1886.

31. Ibid.

32. *ALB.* XXX (1966) pp. 141-75.

33. (1) In *Saptalakṣaṇa* in Grantha script. Jyotirvilasa Press, Kumbakonam, 1888.

(2) Ed. by V. Venkatarama Sarma with a *Ṭīkā* in Roman script. *IHQ*, VII. iv. 1931.

34. Adyar D.I. 859.

35. Ibid. 860; also *VL.* Aithal, p. 394.

36. Adyar D.XIII. 188. See Aithal, VL. pp. 366 ff. Ptd. *Mysore Govt. Ori. Libr. Ser.* 33.

37. MD. 15503. See Aithal, VL.p. 529.

38. *Govt Orl. Ser. Class* D.No. 6. BORI Poona, 1938. See *ALB.* 56, Pt.4, p. 6.

39. Adyar D.I. 953. See Aithal, *VL.* p. 499.

40. Aithal, *VL.* p. 522; MT. 3866(i).

41. Adyar I. 1081-7.

42. MD. 15925. See Aithal, *VL.* PP. 448.

43. *Grammatical Lit.* by Hartmut Scharfe, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz. 1977. p. 176.

44. Adyar D.I. 898-99.

45. Adyar D.I. 983 (Commentary *Vedalakṣaṇa Vilaṅghya*); MD. 965-66 (*Vilaṅghyaprakaraṇa*).

46. Adyar D.I. 824. Printed in a collection Tāṇḍaṅgal in Malayalam script. Kunnankulam: Panchangam Pustakasala 1930, pp. 22-23.

47. *PP.L* Printed in 18-22 of the above edn.

48. Adyar D. XIII.45.

49. MT. 2450 (a)

50. *Lakṣmīnandana - Tātadeśika-kulakṣīrābdhi-labhdodayo*
yo atānīd avanisutā priyatama prītyai prabandhān bahūṇ
so ayam śrotriya vīrarāghava kaviḥ kartum samujjṛmbhate
śabdaprahmavilāsam āgamagavīlakṣmajñānmoda pradaḥ

51. Adyar D. XIII.250; Baroda 9864. 10885. CLB. I.p. 29. Extr. p.150. IO.4326-27.

51a. (1) Ann. Uni.Skt.Ser.4.1936.

(2) Kendriya Skt.Vidyapeetha, 1983

52. Hall, p. 55; Oxf. II. 1059; RASB, II. 1417, SK.Ray DC.1.

53. MT. 1819(f)

54. MT. 1640. See end. *Śrīvatsakulakalaśa jaladhi-sakala-*
kalānidhi vī (pī)ta patañjalāt(la) śrīmad ananta
Veṅkaṭeśākhya mahāguru caraṇāravinda paricaraṇa prabhava
pratibhāta vidyā vaibhavasya anatagopālakṛṣṇasarmaṇaḥ
kṛtau vedaśabdabhūṣaṇe aṣṭamo adhyāyaḥ.

55. Adyar D. VI.138-9.

56. TCD. 33, Triv.Cur.IV.2.

57. Baroda 9917(a) (inc.upto 4th adhy. only) .CLB. I, p. 39. Extr. pp. 171-72.

58. Baroda 9917(c) CLB.I. p.39. Extr. pp. 173-74.

59. TCD.33; *FISC.* I. ii.701.

60. TCD. I. pp. 76-7.

61. TD. 1700: *yajvā raṅgeśa-purī paryanta-grāmavāstavyaḥ viracayati devarājo*
naighaṇṭuke kāṇḍa-nirvacanam.

62. For the identity of the author and other details see *FISC.* I. ii.pp. 696-7.

63. *ASS.* 53.

64. *Mad. Uni. Skt. Ser.* 15, 1964.

65. MT. 5507. See *GOR*, Madras,159-65.

66. IO.4566. 4568; MD. 1170; Sg.II. pp. 5-6. 150-3.

67. IO. 480l.
68. Printed. in Madras, l898.
69. *Mysore Ori. Lib. Ser*, 73. l9ll.
70. Nīlakaṇṭha Śāstri, K.A. *The Pandyan Kingdom*, l929, pp. 60-6l.
71. See NCC III.p.l77d.
72. *Mys. Ori. Ser.* 87.l94.
73. *Rahasyatrayasāra* by V.R. Ramaswami Aiyangar. Tanjore. l960. Pt.I. p. l75.
74. Śg.II. p. l49.
75. See pp. XXXVII-XLV. Intro. to Mysore edn. of *Āpast.Śr. sūtra* with Rāmāgnicit's; also *FISC*.I. ii. p. 693.
76. p. xliii. ff. of Mysore edn.
77. *FISC*. I. ii. p. 694.
78. See NCC. III. p. l49a-50b.
79. *Mysore, Ori. Libr. Pub. Skt. Ser.* 73.l93l. Pref. p.i. p.2. Mysore. See. Sg.II.p.lll.
80. See NCC.III.p. l49b. l50a.also *Āpast.Sulba Sūtra*, Hoshiarpur, l988.
81. Ibid.
82. Mysore.*Govt. Erl. Litr. Ser. Bib Skt.*73. Mysore,l93l.
83. *Kāśi edn.* 59. p. 224.
84. See Adyar D.VI. 3l. *Pandit NS.* l0-21 (l888-99).
85. *KSS.* 93. l932. p. 278 (II.23.7).
86. Ibid. p. 299 (II.29.l6).
87. I.l5.
88. *TSS.* l38, l938.
89. Ibid. l28, l923.
90. See NCC. II. p. l34b.
91. *KSS.* 59, l928.

92. *Mysore Ori. Lib. Ser.* 2.
93. *TSS*, 128, 1923.
94. Sec NCC.IX.PP.127a-b
95. See NCC. VIII. pp. 164b-65a; also *FISC.* I.ii. pp.695-6.
96. TD.V. Intro. p. XXX.
97. See *ALB.*IV. 2. pp. 74-5.
98. *MER.* 1910. Para 24 (267 of 1904).
99. NCC. II. pp. 42b-43a.
100. NCC. II. pp. 137a-b. 224b-25a.
101. NCC. VI. pp. 99b-100b.
102. TD. 2588-9, 2641.
103. See *FISC.* I.ii. pp. 696-7; also NCC.III. p. 143b.
104. HZ.672.II. Extr. p. 73; TD.ll799-ll802. ll803-5. *Pūrva prayoga* only. South Indian Archakar Assn, Madras.
105. Ref. to in *Prayogādarśa.*
106. IO.4816; MT. 3399, 5791.
107. MT. 4177; TD. ll764.
108. See VR. *SV.* Intro. p. 46.
109. TD. 2060.
110. TD. 2612-18. (other sections of the work with *Karmapaddhati)*
111. HZ. 1713.
112. TD. 2065.
113. TD. 2064 (in 19 chs on the 14th Praśna-*Agnicayanakalpa* refers to *Ānandarāya*). 2065 (*Yūpaikādaśini* 17th *Praśna* only).
114. IO. 4750. TD. 2620.
115. TD. 2619.
116. Ibid. 2629 (in 448 verses. *Agniṣṭoma*). 2630 (105 verses. *Paśubandha*).
117. IO. 4748. Ptd.W. Caland.

118. TD. 2067.

119. Ibid. 2063.

120. TD. 2103-20. 2253, 2255 etc (diff. sections of *Baudhāyana śr. sūtra*) (Ms. 2472 is dated 1836 A.D.)

121. xx. 2362-63. 2365.

122. HZ.703 p. 74.

123. IO. 4552; TD.11758. See NCC II.p. 219a.

124. Śg. I.25. p. 3. Extr. p. 71.

125. See *FISC.* I.ii. p. 699.

126. IO.4326-27.

127. HZ. 1696. Extr. p. 71.

128. HZ. 1696. TD. 2561.

129. BISM. 739.BORI. 96 of 1891-95.

130. HZ. III. 1874. Extr.p. 97.

131. ASB. I. iii. 415(2). IL.371.

132. Alph. List. Beng. Govt. 1891. p. 89. (no.1214).

133. PUL. I. p. 17.

134. IO. 4747. TD. 2560-61.

135. TD. 2562.

136. *Āpastambha Gṛhya Sūtra. Kāśi Skt. Ser.* 59. 1971. p. 351.
ittham sudarśanāryeṇa gṛhyatātparyadarśanam kṛtam
bhāṣyānusāreṇa yathāmati yathāśrutam.

137. See p. 524 fn. 89 of *History of Ind. Lit.* by J. Gonda (The Ritual Sūtras *Vol. I. Fasc. 2.* Harrasowitiz., Wiesbaden. 1977).

138. *Aṣṭādhyāyi*, IV. 3.102.

139. MT. 2148(a)

140. HZ. I.413. Extr.p.79.

141. HZ. 87.156.

142. PUL. II. App. p. 42.

143. Hpr. III. p. 18.

144. TD. 2145.

145. TD. 2222-23.

146. IO. 4763.

147. MD. 1095. MT. 1783.

148. Adyar I. p.62b (2mss). TD. 2147 (with Commentary). See NCC. I Revised edn. pp. 47b-8a..

149. MD. 1096.

150. Alwar. 66. Extr. 11; RASB.II. 556.

151. Baroda 7024(a).

152. PUL. II. App. p.30. For his other works see NCC.VI. pp. 147b-148a.

153. HZ. 266. Oppert. II.1917.

154. IO. 4749 (Baudh); MT. 3924(g); TD. 2640 (*Prakīrṇakārikā śataka*).

155. IO. 4774 (Āpast).

156. MT. 3924(g). Trav. Uni. 2985. E & F. Col. *iti Śrī Vātsya Veṅkaṭanātha Vājapeyayāji viracite (ta) Śulbakārikā samāptā.*

157. See Adyar D.I. 912.

158. RASB. II. 1337-8; TD. 2043.

159. Adyar I. 912.

160. TD. 2044. See *Journal of the University of Bombay.* 35 (*NS*), pt. ii Sept. 1966. *Arts.* no. 41. p. 97.

161. Ed. B.R. Sharma, Kendriya Skt. Vidyapeetha,Tirupati 1973.

162. See Adyar D.I. 912. v. 3.

163. Baroda 9910 (inc.). See *Ind. Ant.* 1904. p. 121.

164. See *Ind. Ant.* 1904. pp. 127, 191. Also VR.*SV.* Intro. p. 48.

165. Trav. Uni. 2968 A; See VR. *SV.* Intro. p. 48; also *Ind:Ant.* 1904 p. 191.

166. Adyar D.I. 923. See. *FISC.* I. ii. p.700.

167. MT. 4133(a).

168. See Intro. to *Bhāṭṭacintāmaṇi*, M.L.J. Press, Madras, 1934.
P.K. Gode, *Stud. in Ind. Lit. Hist.* II. pp. 499-511.

169. See *Tattvabindu*, Ann. Uni. Skt. Ser.3. Inro. p. 147.

170. Mysore ND.III. 6825. Extr. p. 202. no. 504.

171. See *Tattvabindu*, Intro. pp. 146-9.

172. Adyar I. p. 57b. IO. 4680. Mysore ND.II. 4381. TD. 2072.

173. *Vasvagnyadrikṣiti mite śake vāñcheśvarasudhī Hiraṇyakeśinām sūtram vyākhyātum upacakrame.*

174. Adyar D.V. 593. TD. 3947.

175. *Adv.Vedānta Lit.*(A Bib.Survey) by R.Tangaswami pp.196,197

176. Ibid. P.257.

177. Ibid.

178. Ibid.

179. Vāṇī Vilās Press, Srirangam, 1913.

180. MT. 3882.See NCC II.P.269a

181. Ibid. See NCC V P.40 a

182. MD. 392.

183. MD. 389.

184. NCC II. pp. 363b-67b.

185. *ALB* Ser.71, Adyar,1949. This *upaniṣad* is known as *Nārāyanopaniṣad* and a sequal to *Taittiriyopaniṣad.* See pp Viff of ptd.edn.

186. Mysore. D.III. 380.

187. *ASS.* 29. *UP. Sāmuccaya* pp. 81-3, 1895.

188. *Mysore Ori. Ser.* No.1. 1969.

189. IO. 87, MT. 1475, 1478 (g).

190. MT. 1662.

191. MD. 621.

192. Oudh. XXI. 26.

192a *Nyāyasiddhāñjana* p. 248.

193 *Śāstramuktāvali Ser.* 13. Srirangam 1913.

194 *Śāstramuktāvali Ser.* 24. 1905.

195. *ASS.* 62. 1910.

196. *TTD. Ser.* 54. Tirupati, 1985.

197. *Śrī Veṅk. Ori. Ser.* No.5. 1942.

198. MT. 3188.See NCC.VIII.P.222a.

199. Adyar.

200. See *Ass.* 63. *Kaṭhopaniṣad*, ASS.Ptd. *Veṅk. Orl. Ser.* 15; also Potter, pp. 243-45.

201. See *Ahobilamutt Comm. Vol.* Chembur, Bombay, 1968, pp. 311-15.

202. Baroda. 6114.

203. MT. 4642(a). See NCC.VIII P.3096

204. Munchen J. 328. Mysore N.D. III. 8290. IV.A. Extr. no. 8299.

205. HZ. Extr. p. 130; MD. 3167.

206. See Kane, *HDS.* I. p. 558(a).

207. In Grantha script, Kumbhakonam, 1898-1908 and several other edns.

208. MT. 2590(a).

209. See *J.O.R.*, Madras III pp. 68-73, also VR, *SV* pp. 19-20.

210. MD. 2741. 17084 TD. 18048-89.

211. MD. 348.

212. Trav. Uni. 3667. 4027.

213. MT. 994 (c) (*Śrāddhakāṇḍa.* inc.) Col. *iti puttūr agrahārastha brāhamajñāna kṛṣṇaśāstrisūnunā, Aṇṇā Dīkṣitena viracitāyām smṛti dīpikāyam śrāddha kāṇḍa upodghāta prakaraṇa.*

214. MD. 3002.

215. Ibid. 3003. MT. 1006 (a). 4139 (b).

216. l0.5568 MD. 3002 MT. 59 (f). l63.672 (d).

217. Mad. Uni. R.A.S. l48 (b) (inc.), Mysore I. p. 94. Trav. Uni. l3992.

218. MT. 344. 985 (inc.) TD. l8623., Trav. Uni. l3547.

219. MD. 3006. Printed (l) in Telugu Script, Madras l884. (2) in Grantha script, Kumbhakonam, l922.

220. See *Annals of Ori. Res. Uni. of Madras* I. i. pp. l3-2l. II. l pp. l2.29.

22l. Printed with Tamil meaning, Chintadripet, Madras, l905. Telugu exposition of text and Commentary, Sriniketan Press, Madras.

222. MD. 2998-99; also a Commentary in Maṇipravāla style by Śaṭhagopadāsa of Bhāradvāja gotra, See NCC. I. Revised edn. p. 54a. MT. 2008(b).

223. TCD. 97. Trav. Uni. T. 394.

224. HZ. II. l504. Extr. p. l43. MT. 3867 (b).

225. MD. 3034-5.

226. Mad. Uni. R.A.S. l03(a). Trav. Uni. 2995 B- (*Aghavivecana*).

227. MT. l374.

228. HZ. III.l998. Extr. p. l20.

229. ALB.Sevi

CHAPTER IV

ITIHĀSAS

The epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* as also the *purāṇas*, the *Skanda* and the *Bhāgavata* had a great influence on the people of Tamil Nadu as well as the kings. The rulers of the Pallava period made endowments for the recital and exposition of these epics and *purāṇas*. In fact the *purāṇas*, *Kandapurāṇa* as also the epic *Rāmāyaṇa* of Kampaṉ had their debut in temples. Vaiṣṇavas, especially had the greatest regard for the *Rāmāyaṇa* since it suited their philosophy of *Śaraṇāgati* as Vibhīṣaṇa was one of the foremost examples for this. Periya Vāccān Piḷḷai or Kṛṣṇapāda wrote the *Rāmāyaṇa Taniśloki*,[1] in which selected verses from this epic have been grouped together and exposition offered in Tamil. This work, in turn, again was rendered into Sanskrit under the title *Pratyeka ślokavistara*[2] by an Ahobala who belonged to the 16th cent. A.D.

One of the earliest scholars to write a commentary on the *Rāmāyaṇa* was Colapaṇḍita Vyākhyātṛcūḍāmaṇi Varadarāja[3] (1250 A.D.) of Uḍāli family. He wrote the Commentary *Vivekatilaka* or *Vyākhyātilaka*[4] on the *Rāmāyaṇa*. He was also known as Brahmakṣatra or Brahmarāja or Brahmārya. He was probably a general under the Colas. Hence this title. His Commentary is quoted in the *Īḍu* commentary on the *Tiruvāymoḻi*.[5] Since Devanāgari script was not widely current in Tamil Nadu, textual corruptions had to be verified in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. So he collected several manuscripts from various libraries. Then they were examined and the commentary written by him. Thus he says:

bahudeśa samānīta bahukośa nirīkṣaṇāt.

Rightly he is called *Colapaṇḍita vyākhyātṛcūḍāmaṇi* as his critical acumen is understood from the above reference.

Kandāḍai Rāmānuja,[6] son of Varadarāja of Vādhūla *gotra*, flourished probably during C.1400 A.D. He was a Śrīvaiṣṇava. He is quoted in the Commentaries of Vaidyanātha Dīkṣita and Govindarāja.[7]

He was orally expounding the *Rāmāyaṇa* and at the request of his listeners he wrote a regular Commentary on the epic.[8]

This commentary brings out many hidden ideas in this epic.[9]

Vaidyanātha Dīkṣita, a well-known writer in the field of Dharma Śāstra, probably wrote a commentary on the *Rāmāyaṇa*.[10]

Govindarāja, who hailed from the Tamil country, was another important commentator on the *Rāmāyaṇa*. It is a detailed commentary and is especially followed by the Vaiṣṇavites. He must have lived during the 16th cent.[11] The following verses in the beginning of his work give details about him and how the commentary was composed.

ācāryaṃ śaṭhakopadeśikam atha prācārya pāramparīm
śrīmallakṣmaṇayogivarya yamunā vāstavyanāthādikān
vālmīkim saha nāradena muninā vāgdevatāvallabhim
sītā lakṣmaṇa vāyusūnu sahitam śrī rāmacandram bhaje
śṛimatyañjanabhūdharanya śikhare śri māruteḥ sannidha-
vagre Veṅkaṭanāyakasya sadanadvāre yatikṣmābhṛte
nānādeśasamāgatair budhagaṇair rāmāyaṇa vyākriyām
vistīrṇāṃ racayeti sādaram aham svapne'smisa coditaḥ
ko bhāro atra mama svayam kulaguruḥ ko daṇḍapāṇiḥ kṛpā
kūpāro racayatyadaḥ sapadi majjihvāgrasiṁhāsanaḥ
pūrvācārya kṛta prabandha jaladhestātparya ratnāvalir
grāham grāham aham śaṭhāriguruṇā sandarśitena adhvanā
anyavyākṛti jātarūpaśakalair āyojya sajjī kṛtaiḥ
śrī rāmāyaṇa bhūṣaṇam viracaye paśyantu nirmatsarāḥ
suspaṣṭam aṣṭādaśa kṛtvā etya śrīśailaypūrṇāt yatiśekharòyam
śuśrāva Rāmayaṇa sampradāyam vakṣye tam ācārya paramparāttam
kvacid padārtham kvacid anvayārtham kvacid padaccheda
samarthanāni
kvacid kvacid gāḍhanigūḍhabhāvam vakṣye yathāpekṣam avekṣaṇīyam
vaiyarthyam punaruktatām anucita ārambham virodham mitho
asādhutvam ca pada prabandha racanāvākyesuniśśeṣayan
svārasyam ca pade pade prakaṭayan rāmāyaṇasya svamya
vyākhyām eṣa tanoti sajjana mude govindarajāhvayaḥ[12]

These verses show how meticulous he has been in writing the commentary.

Govindarāja belonged to Kauśika *gotra*. He was the son of Varadaguru. After hearing the expositions given by his preceptor, Śaṭhagopa of Śrīvatsa

gotra, he himself was giving expositions on the *Rāmāyaṇa* at Añjanādri, a part of Tirupati. At the request of the people who were listening to his exposition of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and being prompted in a dream by the God, he wrote the commentary. This commentary has different names for the different *kāṇḍas*: *Maṇimañjīra*, *Pītāmbara*, *Ratnamekhalā*, *Muktāhāra*, *Śṛṅgāratilaka*, *Maṇimukuṭa* and *Ratnakirīṭa*.[13]

Ahobala of the l6th cent. A.D. who put into Sanskrit, Periyavāccāṉ Piḷḷai's Tamil *Taniśloki*, wrote also a Commentary *Vālmīkihṛdayam*.[14]

Mādhavayogin (l675-l750 A.D.) appears to be a native of Chingleput, as he salutes Kālahastīśvara, Ekāmranātha and Vedapurīśvara (Tirukkaḷukuṉṟam). He wrote Commentaries *Upaniṣanamaṅgalābharaṇa* on the *Upaniṣads* and the Commentary *Amṛtakataka*[15] on the *Rāmāyaṇa*. In the beginning of his commentary, in the benedictory verse, he says:

kālahastyīśam ekāmranātham vedagirīśam
sva manaḥ prāṇa dehānta sthitāmstrīn brahmaṇo bhaje/

The purpose of writing the commentary is thus:

asangata vyakṛtipāṁsupaṅkilam
rāmāyaṇam tīrthasamuddhṛtāmṛtam /
yogīndravāṇī katakād vipaṅkilam
sarvopakāra kṣamamastu sarvadā

In the commentary a few words used by him appear to be influenced by Tamil language.

jhillikā	-	*cilvaṇḍu* p. 223
svetākṣaḥ	-	*āmai*
sārasa	-	*veṇṇārai* p. 288
vivāha	-	*kalyāṇa* p. 462.

The commentator's critical acumen can be understood from the following observations: The author sets aside verses that are additions and thus purifies the text after checking the relevancy of the verses. Secondly, the author considers the 24,000 verses of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, as the 24 syllables of the *Gāyatrīmantra*. It thus glorifies the Supreme Being or the Hiraṇyagarbha.

Raṅgācārya (17th cent.) of Ātreya *gotra* wrote the commentary *Rāmāyaṇānvayī*[16] on the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Gopālakṛṣna Śāstri (17th-18th cent.)[17] of Śrivatsa *gotra*, son of Vaidyanātha and pupil of Rāmabhadrādhvarin, was patronised by Vijaya Raghunātha Toṇḍamān of Pudukkottai. He was a co-pupil of Sadāśiva Brahmendra and teacher of Appā Dīkṣita (author of *Pāṇinīyasūtraprakāśa*, Adyar D. VI. 141) and Anantagopālakṛṣna (author of *Vedaśabdavibhūṣaṇa*. MT. 1640). His son and disciple, Anantanārāyaṇa Śāstrin, completed his commentaries on the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Siddhāntakaumudī* and continued *Śābdikacintāmaṇi* on the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. He was the author of the commentary *Vidvanmanoharā*[18] on the *Rāmāyaṇa*. This is referred to in the Commentary *Śābdikacintāmaṇi* on *Śiddhāntakaumudī*.

One of the important commentaries on the *Rāmāyaṇa* was the *Dharmākūta*.[19] Though it is said to be written by Tryambakayajvan, minister of the Tanjore Maratha rulers, Sāhaji and Serfoji I, it was really by Ḍhuṇḍhirāja Vyāsa,[20] a *paurāṇika*, under the Maratha rulers and was completed in A.D. 1719.

This work is more a dissertation on the six *kāṇdas* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. According to the author, the *Rāmāyaṇa* was written by Vālmīki in order to illustrate the precepts of the several *Dharmaśāstras* rather than to describe the life history of Śrī Rāma. It is well-known that Vālmīki says *Rāmo vigrahavān dharmaḥ*. Thus the purpose of this epic was mainly intended to inculcate the right conception of one's *Dharma*.

Rāmacandra Sarasvatī, pupil of Brahmānandendra says in the introductory verses of his commentary on the *Bhagavadgītā*, that he wrote a commentary on the *Rāmāyaṇa* before he wrote his Commentary on the *Gītā*.

rāmāyaṇam tu vyākhyāya rāmacandra sarasvatī
karoti gītāvyakhyānamākhyóyam tattvadīpikām[21]

This Rāmacandra is not identical with Upaniṣad Brahmendra, who was a well-known commentator on the *Upaniṣads* and who wrote a Commentary on the *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa*.[22] He seems to be a resident of Nīlācala or Puri, though he appears to be a Tamil or Telugu.

Maheśatīrtha, pupil of Narāyaṇa Tīrtha, wrote the Commentary *Dīpikā*, popularly known as *Tīrthīya*.[23] The author appears to have put together the views of other scholars, in a single place.

avalokana saukumāryam ālocyaikatra sārataḥ
nānāṭīkāstha vākyāni likhyante atra yathāmati
sarveṣām granthakartṛṇām amśako' ham na kalpakaḥ
likhitānyatra tairyāni likhyante tānyato mayā

In the introductory verses of this commentary, the author's ability as a poet is revealed. He offers his salutations to Goddess Sarasvatī, Rāma and his preceptor Nārāyaṇatīrtha.

parabrahmātmikām devīm bhuktimukti phalapradām
praṇamyà staumi tāmeva jñānaśaktim sarasvatīm
praṇamya nārāyaṇatīrthadeśikān bhavānalārtāmṛta pūra nīradām /
karoti rāmāyaṇa tattvadīpikām maheśatīrthākhya munir yathāmati /

He pays obeisance to Rāma in a beautiful verse. The comparison of Rāma to a cloud is noteworthy.

kāruṇyāmṛta nīram āśrita janaḥ śrī cātakānandadam
śārṅgākhaṇḍala-cāpam ambujabhavendrādi barhiṣṭadam
cāru-smera-mukhollāsajjanakajā saudāminī śobhitam
śrī rāmāmbudham āśraye' khila jagatsaṁsāra tāpāpaham

In the holy place Madurāntakam dedicated to Śrī Rāma, near Chennai, there was one Abhinava Vālmīki or Madhurāntakam Vālmiki, so called because of his scholarship in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. He might have been a *Sannyāsin*.[24] He was the son of Rāma of Kṛṣṇārya family. *Madhurāntaka Vālmīkīya* is a commentary by him on the *Rāmāyaṇa*.[25] He says that this commentary is not an original one, but only an exposition written after consulting earlier commentaries. The following statements of the author confirm this.

nānāṭīkārtha samyuktam, lekhakoham na kalpakaḥ,
iti madhurāntaka vālmīki kṛtāyām nānāṭīkā
saṅgraha ṭīkāyām yuddhakāṇḍaḥ samāptaḥ.

On select verses of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, a commentary, *Rāmāyaṇasārasaṅgraha*[26] was composed by Śrīnivāsarāghavācārya of Śrīraṅgam. He refers to Govindarāja, commentator on this epic.

Hārīta Veṅkaṭācārya, a *smārta* wrote *Sarvārthasāra*[27] commentary on the *Rāmāyaṇa*. He is not identical with the well-known Dharma Śāstra writer, Toḻappar.[28] This author was probably a pupil of Veṅkaṭakṛṣṇārya. He states that he had cleared doubts that have been explained by the earlier commentators.

On this epic, Raṅgācārya of Ātreya *gotra* and disciple of Gopālaguru of the Vādihaṁsāmbuvāha family, wrote the commentary *Rāmāyaṇānvayī*.[29]

vādihaṁsa valāhakānvaya ratnākara sudhākara śrī
gopālagurukaṭākṣa prasaraṇa nivārita avidyāpaṭalena
raṅgācāryeṇa viracite rāmāyaṇānvayī samākhyāne
vyākhyāne āraṇyakāṇḍaḥ samāptaḥ.

The following verse gives details about the author.

śrī sāketapurādhipasya kṛpāya sītāmanohāriṇaḥ
śrī rāmasya dīnāndhakārapaṭalacchedoṣṇa-raśmeḥ guroḥ
śrī rāmāyaṇa sindhupāta sadṛśam(śīm)ṭīkām manohāriṛūm
śrī raṅgācārya budho alikhat sa viduṣām ātreya vaṁśodbhavaḥ /

It is well-known, that this epic, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, deals extensively as to how one should stick on to *dharma*[30] at difficult junctures. The commentary *Vālmikị tātparyadīpikā*[31] on the *Rāmāyaṇa* belongs to this class. This Commentary deals with twenty-four *dharmas* as based on the twenty-four select episodes from this epic and four more additional *dharmas*. The author of this Commentary is Nṛsiṁha of Śrīśaila family, son of Veṅkaṭārya and grandson of Ahobala.

Apart from these, single verses like *aham vedmi mahātmānam* or *iyam sītā mama sutā* etc., were interpreted in several ways by a few scholars. Of these Parittiyūr Kṛṣṇa Śāstrigaḷ of recent times explained *aham vedmi* in hundred different ways in his *Rasa niṣyandinī* Commentary.[32]

The verse runs thus:

aham vedmi mahātmānam rāmaṁ satya parākramaṁ
vasiṣṭho'pi mahātejāḥ ye ca ime tapasi sthitāḥ /

'Viśvāmitra, who by his divine powers, knew who this Rāma is in reality, whereas Daśaratha knows him as his son only.

(l) *aham vedmi - imaṁ Sri Rāmabhadram asmat putra iti*
tvaṁ/ayaṁ jagatpitetyaham

'you know him only as your son, whereas I know him as the father of the Universe'.

(2) *ya enam viduḥ muditās te bhavantīti tvam /*
ya enam viduramṛtāste bhavantī-tyaham //

'The one who knows Him becomes happy. Thus, O King Daśaratha, you think. But I consider Him thus - whoever understands him (or realises Him) as his own self, he gets salvation'. Thus the commentary describes beautifully, bringing out the true identity of Rāma as the Supreme Being.

A few tracts based on the *Rāmāyaṇa* were written for fixing up the dates of some events in the epic or the descriptions of Rāma gathered together. One such work is *Agniveśya Rāmāyaṇa* or *Rāmajātaka* which deals with the chronology of events in this epic.

Rāmāyaṇasārasaṅgrahadīpikā[33] is on the identification of dates, incidents found in the epic. This was written by Cakravarti Veṅkaṭācārya. A few other works of this class are *Rāmāvatārādi kālanirṇayasūcikā*,[34] on the date of Rāma's birth. Another of this kind is *Rāmāyaṇādikālanirṇaya*[35] of Śrīnivāsarāghava.

Bharatajyaiṣṭhyanirṇaya,[36] which tries to determine, Bharata being elder to Lakṣmaṇa is by Veṅkaṭārya, son of Śrīnivāsārya of Vādhūla *gotra*.

Veṅkaṭa, son of Lakṣmaṇa, wrote the Commentary *Arthaprakāśika*[37] for expounding some minor incidents in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Colophon:

śrī lakṣmaṇa prapautreṇa veṅkaṭākhyena sūriṇā /
arthaprakāśikā vyākhyā vālmīkīye mudākṛtā /

Another work which tries to explain certain stanzas in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, which appear to give controversial meaning, is *Rāmāyaṇavirodhabhañjani*[38] by Brahmavidyādhvarīndra of Vāna family. From the introductory verse we understand that this author wrote commentaries on the *Bhāgavata*, *Śāstradīpikā* and probably one on a *Nyāya* text by Vācaspati.

yena bhāgavate ṭīkā pañcaṭīkātiśāyinī
kṛtā vācaspati nyaya. . . . . tāḥ /
sampradāyārthatassśāstradīpikā vyakṛtā amunā
vānam nṛsimhaja brahmavidyādhvarīndra vipaścitā //

About the author this information is found from the following verse:

nṛsimhajanako yasya bhavānī jananī svayam
ahobalān mantra siddhiḥ brahmavidyā ātmanaḥ pituḥ
brahmavidyādhvarīndreṇa vālmīkīye amunākṛtā
virodhabhañjanī vyākhyā jīyāt ācandra tārakam //

Purāṇam Hayagrīva Śāstri wrote *Rāmāyaṇamahimādarśaḥ*,[39] which discusses certain important controversial points in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and gives the opinion of the author on these points which is supported by quotations.

śrīmad vālmīki śrīmad hayagrīva mantrarājopāsanāllabdha -
samskṛtaprākṛta - vaikṛtādyaneka bhāṣāgrathita nikhila
tantra svatantra pratibhā bhāsureṇa purā (ṇam) hayagrīva
śāstriṇā viracita . . . . .
śrīmad rāmāyaṇamahimādarśe

The chapters in this work are divided into *bimbas*. A few chapters which deal with specific topics are as follows:

paramānnavibhāgaghaṭṭa
bharata laksmaṇayor jyaiṣṭhya kaniṣṭhya vicāraghaṭṭa

The following commentaries on the *Rāmāyaṇa* may be referred to here:

Veṅkaṭeśvara, who belonged to the Hārīta *gotra* and who was the pupil of Veṅkaṭakṛṣṇayajvan wrote a *vyākhyā* on the *Rāmāyaṇa*.[40]

Raṅgācārya, disciple of Gopālārya wrote *Garbhavyākhyā*,[41] on this epic.

On *Rāmānvyabhūṣaṇa* of Vīlinātha, the commentary *Dīpti*[42] was written by his son Kanakasabhāvallabha.

Tattvasaṅgraharāmāyaṇa[43] was by Rāmabrahmānanda, a *sannyāsin*, who belonged to the group of Rāma devotees like Upaniṣad-Brahmendra. This work narrates the incidents of Rama's story with deviations. Some of the incidents found in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, do not find place here.

Rāma is described here as a Supreme Being and the mode of his worship is given. *Rāmāyaṇatattvadarpaṇa*[44] is also by this author.

Rāmāyaṇatātparyasaṅgraha or *Rāmāyaṇasārastotra*[45] with *vyākhyā* is by the well-known Appayya Dīkṣita I. This is a metrical treatise which tries to establish that Vālmiki *Rāmāyaṇa* teaches the supremacy of Śiva. In this commentary several verses from the *Rāmāyaṇa* are quoted, which may be useful for textual criticism.

Rāmāyaṇasārasaṅgrahakhaṇḍana[46] is a refutation of the views of Appayya Dīkṣita, expressed in *Rāmāyaṇasārasaṅgraha*.

Raghunātha Nāyak (17th cent.) of Tanjore was the author of *Rāmāyaṇasaṅgraha*.[47] *Rāmāyaṇakhaḍgadhāra*[48] is a summary of the *Sundarakāṇḍa*.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* in Tamil

The references to Rāma's story in Tamil works are given among the Tamil versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Kampa Rāmāyaṇa* is well-known. A few observations on the Sanskrit epic and the Tamil versions will be given below.

There are references to Rāmā in Caṅkam poetry. *Akanāṉūṟu* (70) mentions Rāma's stay at Dhanuṣkoṭi and his deliberations with Hanumān and other monkey rulers. In *Puranāṉūṟu*, Sītā dropping her ornaments, while being adbucted by

Rāvaṇa and the monkeys finding them are mentioned (378). The Ahalyā episode is given in *Paripāṭal.*

Cilappatikāram (XIII.64-6) (XIV.46-8), in the section *Āycciyarkuravai*, refers to Rāma destroying Laṅkā and breaking the bow of Śiva. In *Yāpparuṅkalam* (10th cent. A.D.), a reference is made to a version of *Rāmāyaṇa* in the *pahroṭai veṇpā* metre. *Palavatiyam*(?) *vanta pahroṭai Rāmāyaṇam.* From this we can conjecture that there must have been another version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in Tamil.[49] *Vīracōḻiyam* also quotes *Rāmāyaṇa* verses (p. 210) under the figure of speech *pira poruḷ vaippu.*

Vālmīki presents Rāma mostly as a human being and at times His divine nature is revealed under crucial circumstances.

Vālmīki *Rāmāyaṇa* and Kampaṉ Ramayaṇa

A comparison of the *Ramāyaṇa* of Vālmīki in Sanskrit and *Kampan Rāmāyaṇa* in Tamil is made in the following lines:

Kampaṉ, presents Rāma as a Divine Being. The Āḻvārs portrayed Rāma as a supreme being in their *Pāśurams* and his divine nature is presented in full glory. Kampaṉ must have been influenced by these *Pāśurams.*

Vālmīki sticks on to the definition of epic and picturises Rāma as the embodiment of *Dharma* and glorifies him as an ideal person observing *satya.* The love for his brother and his sorrow in separation from Sītā are all vividly described.

Kampaṉ's *Rāmāyaṇa* resembles more a *Mahākāvya.* There are detailed accounts of the journey of Daśaratha for attending the marriage of Rāma at Mithilā. The marching of four divisions of the army, description of Candraśaila mountain, plucking flowers, water sports, drunken revelry,[50] Sīta's love-lorn condition[51] and a description of all these add a *kāvya* nature to this epic of Kampaṉ.

Rāma seeing Sītā after entering Mithilā is described in detail in the *Kampa Rāmāyaṇa* (*Bālakāṇṭa: Mithilaikkāccip-paṭalam*, p.34. V.35 ff). Naccinārkkiniyār in his commentary also mentions this. But in *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa*, this episode does not find place.

The following two verses which describe Sītā accusing the moon are noteworthy.

"You are not hard-hearted. You won't kill anybody. You were born along with pure nectar and Goddess Lakṣmī whose gait resembles that of an elephant. If it be such will you burn me, O Moon, that was born from the ocean', (Kampa Rāmāyaṇam, Mitilai Kātcippaṭalam, Verse 556).

In the description of the Kośala country, Kampan, in keeping with the Tamil literary tradition, which classifies the land into the five regions as found in the Saṅgam literary works, presents Kośala as belonging to *Marutam* land. Such a classification does not occur in Vālmīki's work though Kośala and city Ayodhyā are described.

The story of Sagara, the burning of his sons, the descent of the Ganges are all considered as interpolations[53] by some scholars.

The Mahābhārata of Vyāsa

The *Mahābharata* was well known in Tamil Nadu and endowments were made for the exposition of this Epic. Still commentaries on it by scholars of this region are only a few. Cola Paṇḍita Brahmarāja or Varadarāja, who lived prior to 1250 A.D. and who was referred to under *Rāmayāṇa* commentators, wrote the commentary *Jñānapañjara*[54] on the *Mahābhārata*. He had to verify the textual part of this epic and make the necessary corrections after gathering several manuscripts of this work, from various libraries.[55] Hence he is called *Colapaṇḍita vyākhyātṛ cūḍāmaṇi*.

Appayya Dīkṣita (16th cent. A.D.) wrote *Māhābhārata Tātparya Saṅgraha* and the commentary *vyākhyā* on it.[56] This work explains that the ultimate truth found in the *Mahābhārata* is Śiva.

Paravastu Vātsya Varadācarya (18th cent. A.D.), son of Koṇeṭyambā and Ādi Varāhācārya, son of Veṅkaṭācārya, whose paternal uncle was Mahā Vedāntācārya, composed *Mahābhārata tātparya-prakāśa*,[57] criticising the views of Appayya Dīkṣita. One Nandanācārya wrote a commentary on this epic. But his identity is not known.[58]

Samarapuṅgava (1509-91 A.D.),[59] pupil of Vādhūla Mahācārya, belonged to Śrīvatsagotra. His *Pañcamāmnāyasaṅgraha*[60] deals with the supremacy of Lord Nārāyaṇa. In this treatise he makes an attempt to prove that the *Mahābhārata* establishes the superiority of Lord Viṣṇu. The views expressed by Appayya Dīkṣita in his *Maḥābhārata tātparya saṅgraha* are criticised.

Another type of composition is the establishment of the Superiority (or priority) of this epic. To this class belongs the *Bhāratajyaiṣṭhanirṇaya* by Veṅkaṭārya, son of Śrīnivāsa.

Bhāratavacanāmaṇi is by one Purāṇam Hayagrīva Śāśtri.[61] In the beginning of this work he refers to his father thus:

> *purāṇavamśa payonidhisudhākarasya śrīmad appayyasiddhānta tattvavicchikhāmaṇeḥ śrīmad veṅkaṭanārāyaṇa vidvatcūḍāmaṇeḥ tanayena.*

He also says that he examined several texts of the *Mahābhārata* and commentaries and then gave the extracts from the different *Parvams.*

Tamil Versions of the Epic

According to K.V. Zvelebil[62] a southern recension of *Mahābhārata* must have been available. He refers to the familiarity of the *Bhārata* story thus. References to it are found in *Puram*, 2, *Akam* 233 and the great war is referred to in the *Cilappatikāram* XXIX.

In an inscription from Cinnamanūr, there is a reference thus: *Māpāratam tamil paṭuttum.* He was well known as *pāratam pāṭiya peruntēvanār* and is assigned to a period prior to 700 A.D.[63] and K.V. Zvelebil is of the opinion that he belonged to the end of the bardic age, probably 3rd cent. A.D. This is an early version of the epic.

Peruntēvanār (825-59 A.D.), who composed the *Bhāratavenpā*, belonged to Nandivarman III's time (846-69 A.D.). He refers to the war at Teḷḷāru. M.Arunachalam is of the opinion that Peruntēvanār must have been a resident of Kāñci and a devotee of Attigiri Perumāḷ.

The following verse refers to the war at Teḷḷār:

> *vaṇmaiyāl kalviyāl*
> *mābalattāḷ vinaiyāl*
> *Uṇmaiyāṟ pārāḷ urimaiyāṟ-ṟiṇmaiyāṟ*
> *tēr ventar vānēṟatteḷḷaṟṟil veṉṟāno*
> *ḍiyār ventareṟpār etir.*

Bhāratavenpā contains both verses and prose part. The venpā verses are explained in prose and also separate prose portions are found.

Two other references to early renderings of this epic into Tamil are, the one done during the time of an early Pāṇḍya ruler and another during Kulottuṅka III's (A.D. 1178-1218) reign. *Bhārata venpā* of Peruntēvanār contains half of *Udyogaparva*, *Bhiṣmaparva* and *Droṇaparva* upto the 13th day battle. His verses are quoted in the *Poruḷatikāram* of *Tolkāppiyam* and the *Yāpparuri kaḻa vṛtti* of Naccinārkkiniyār.

In the *Vīracoḻiyam* commentary four verses from the *Mahābhārata*[66] are quoted which M. Arunachalam ascribes to Peruntēvanār[67] (1100-25 A.D.). The verses from this epic are quoted in the Commentary by Naccinārkkiniyār (14th cent.) on *Tolkāppiyam* without reference to the author. Peruntēvanār's *Bhāratavenpā* contains this interesting dialogue. Replying to Sañjaya, Bhīma says thus:

kēḷay sañjayane! taruma puttiranai vīrayākam paṇṇuvikkakkaṭavēn; anta yākam paṇṇumpaṭik keḷāy; kuruketrapūmiyē yākśālaiyāka kōpamennum aknimūṭṭik koṭittērennum intanam aṭukkik kurucenai yennum ney corintu, taruma puttiran yajñaparanākavum, turōpatiye yajñapattiniyākavum, nāṅkaḷ nālvarum ṛtvikkukaḷākavum, en kaiyir taṇṭāyutam yūpamākavum tarmavirōtikaḷāyuḷḷa turyotanātikaḷ ennum nūṟṟuvaraiyum paśuppaṭuttu vaikalyap paṭāmal alakaikkum pakci cātikkum piṇamenenuñ conna tānam paṇṇit taṭṭuppatāmal (vīrayākac) caṭaṅku ceyvittu vaivacvatanāginrahotāvinukkum, pūtaṅkalukkum para rāṣṭrattu rācākkaḷ prāṇaneṅkiṟa dakciṇai koṭutu pūrtti ceytalam.[68]

Villipputtūrar's *magnum opus* is the Tamil version of *Mahābhārata*. He was the son of Vīraraghavācāryār and was a resident of Tirumunaippāḍi or Ceṇiyūr or Caniyūr and was skilful in composing verses in the four varieties *Āśu* etc. He wrote the Tamil version of *Mahābhārata* at the instance of one Varapati Āṭikoṇṭān of Vakkapākai. His work is based more on the original epic than on the *Bālabhārata* of Agastya Paṇḍita.

He pays obeisance to Lord Gaṇesa who wrote *Māhābhārata* for Vyāsa. In the beginning of this work he refers thus:

niṭāḻiyulakattu maṟai nāloṭaintenṟu nilai niṟkavē
vāṭāta tava vāymai muniracan māpāratañ conna nāḷ
ēṭāka vaṭamēru veṟpāka vaṅkūr eḻuttāṇitān
kōṭāka veḻutum pirānaip paṇintanpu kūrvāmarō[69]

(Taṟcirappuppāyiram Verse-1)

He also says that he is giving an abridgement of the epic composed by Vyāsa:

kannapaka meykaḷippa tōraḷappirol katai
mun conna pāvalan rukalaṟu cukan ṟiruttātai

anna pāratan tanneyō yōraṟivilēnnuraippa
tennapāva maṟṟennaiyinṟen colātulakē /
(Taṟcirappuppāyiram Verse-5)

Here a few similarities and differences between the original Vyasa's epic and Villi's version is worth pointing out. While the river Ganges tells about the curse that befell on her she says that when she was in the assembly of Gods, the wind God blew the hip garment which revealed the inner parts of the Ganges and Varuṇa started admiring it and fell in love with her. This made Brahma angry and he cursed him to be born in the terrestrial world. He was born as Santanu.[70]

The original story by Vyāsa differs here. Mahābhiṣak, of Ikṣvāku lineage, reaches Satyaloka after performing sacrifices. There, by accident, he chances to see the inner beauty of the Ganges and becomes cursed. Thus there is difference in the story.[71]

When Bhīma tries to come for helping Abhimanyu, who is caught in the Cakravyūha, Jayadratha throws the *konnai* garland got from Lord Śiva. Bhīma, a staunch devotee of Śiva, is hesitant to cross the garland and go to Abhimanyu's rescue. He offers his salutations to the garland and remains there.

kanṟiy eyiṟu kaṭitteḻuntu kālan pōl
venṟi cer vīman viraintēṅkik-konṟait
toṭaimālai kaṇtaḻaviṟkai toḻutu viḻntān
aṭan mālai velār mun nāṅku.

Thus Bhima's devotion to Śiva is stressed here and his inability to rescue Abhimanyu is described.

Bhagavadgītā, the cream of *Mahābhārata* is put in the briefest manner in the *Bhāratavenpā*. Arjuna's condition in the beginning of the battle and his refusal to fight finds place in this verse.

uṟṟāraiyellāmuḍan konraraśālap
peṟṟālum veṇṭen peruñcelvam-corrāḻntu
vāṭ taṭakkai vil nekiḻa vaḻā viruntiṭṭān
terttaṭṭin mīte tikaittu.[72] (476)

Here Arjuna's despondency and unwillingness to fight with his kinsman are brought out clearly. The *Viśvarūpa* of Śrī Kṛṣṇa is put in a single verse.

piṟappu nilai keṭivaiyāvān pāva
maṟattinoṭaim pūtamāvān - uṟaṟkarīya
vāṇāvān, maṇṇāvan mannuyirkaḷ ittainaiyun
tānātal kaṭṭinan ṟān.[73]

In the description of the first day battle in *Villibhārata*, the summary of the Gita[74] is given in six verses. The following verse describes how God is present in everybody. Such a thought arises only for those who have realised the Supreme Being. It also adds that when the supreme knowledge is acquired there is no friend or enemy for that person.

anta nall aṟivaṇṟanmai yarintavar aṟijñarāvar
tantaiyal vakukkappaṭṭa carācarap porul-kaṭoṟum
vantavān rīmpaney poluyirk-kuyirāki vaḷum
pantamatuṇarntu vere pārkkuṇkār pakai yār kāṇpār /[75]
ān vanta tīpal ney pol.

The poet says that the God, like the ghee that is present in sweet milk, is found in all the beings. In another place the God tells Arjuna that they are the inseparable as Nara and Nārāyaṇa.

ennai nī pukalak keṅmo veṅkumāy yāvumāki
manniya porulum yane maraikelā muṭivum yane
unnai yān pirivatillai yora muṟai pirintumena
ṇannilā veṛikkum pūṇāy naranu nareṇanumānam /[76]

In another incarnation, these two were born as Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, so says Villi in another verse.[77]

These references to Jayadratha throwing the *konnai* garland for preventing Bhīma from entering the *cakravyūha* finds place in *Villi's Bharata*.[78]

nutaleri nayaman aruḷ konṟai mālai tannai
yivar naṭuviṭil irantu palum akalvare
kanakataru manranmalaiyena volir rati
yita liyanta tanmalai paraman

Thus Jayadratha thwarts the efforts of Bhima to come to the rescue of Abhimanyu.

Another episode that occurs in the *Bhīṣmaparva* of *Villi's Bhārata* is worth mentioning here. There is an account of how Arjuna got weapons after worshipping Lord Śiva. In fact this episode reveals how Śiva and Lord Kṛṣṇa are treated as identical deities without one being superior to the other. On the

13th day of the war, Kṛṣṇa suggests to Arjuna that they both will go to Kailāsa for seeing Lord Śiva and get his blessings for killing Jayadratha. Accordingly both start on the journey. Kṛṣhṇa tells Arjuna who is observing a fast to take some fruits at least to remove his hunger. But Arjuna refuses this firmly and says that he will not eat anything until he has performed Śiva's worship. Kṛṣṇa suggests that as He and Śiva are one and the same God, but in two different forms, he can worship Kṛṣṇa and he will realise this fact soon. Arjuna worships and sips water offered at the feet of the Lord, and eats the fruits. The Lord thinks of Garuḍa, who comes and takes both Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna to the Mount Kailās. There Śiva receives them. To his surprise, Arjuna finds that the flowers offered by him to Kṛṣṇa are on the body of Śiva, which makes Arjuna realise the identity of the two. Kṛṣṇa requests Śiva to provide Arjuna with arrows, bow and other weapons so that he will have the necessary power to conquer the enemies. Arjuna is then asked by Śiva to go to the pond and asks him to take a bath and goes away. The sage who appears in the pond from the mouth of a snake gives Arjuna, the arms and imparts to him the *Rudra mantra* and teaches him several poses for handling the bow. They return to the Kurukṣetra,[79] after Śiva assures Arjuna that those weapons will come to him whenever he desires for them and blesses him with some more.

In Vyāsa's *Mahābhārata* this episode occurs with some differences. Arjuna as per the advice of Kṛṣṇa, performs a worship to Śiva in the night, seated on *Darbha* grass. After this in a dream of Arjuna, he sees that Kṛṣṇa and himself going to Kailās. There he and Kṛṣṇa under instructions from Lord Śiva go to the tank where the bow and arrows are kept. There they see a frightful snake and another one with thousand heads. Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna, after cleansing their hands with water, offered prayers to Lord Śiva, reciting the *Śatarudrīya*. The two snakes by the power of the *mantras* get transformed into a bow and arrow. Taking the arms, they return to Lord Śiva. Then from near the Lord, a *brahmaćāri* appears and handles the weapons. The bow and arrow were again placed in the tank and at the request of Arjuna to Śiva, the Lord handed over the bow and the arrow, and the *pāśupatāstra* to Arjuna.[80]

In *Villi Bhārata* one stotra by Arjuna on Śiva[81] and Śiva praising Lord Kṛṣṇa is noteworthy. Arjuna praises Śiva thus:

ponkarā veyin maṇippūṇum peṇu nīr
ṟaṅkarākamuvantaṇiyumu meniyāy
caṅkarā meru veñcāpam vāṅkiya
ceṅkarāciva ćiva tēvane |

Here in this verse Śiva burning the three cities is referred to as also in the next verse.

viṇṇiṭait tiripuram ventu nīṟeḻap
paṇṇutaic centaḻal parappu mūralā
yeṇṇutaik kāmanai yeritta peraḻaṟ
kaṇṇutaik kaṭavule kāla kālane. ||

Arjuna adds that he never forgot his fight with Lord Śiva as the hunter (*kirāta*). Śiva too speaks about the greatness of Lord Kṛṣṇa. He praises Kṛṣṇa as the one who removed ignorance of the mind through *Gītopadeśa*. He adds that Arjuna will not be reborn as he was a companion to Lord Kṛṣṇa. Just as Rāma-Lakṣmaṇa and Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna are Naranārāyaṇa.

Yet in two more verses the supremacy of Kṛṣṇa is spoken by Śiva and incidentally, the mythlogical episodes are referred to in brief.

enṟalumīcan nakaitturai ceytanan yānena nīyenavē-
ṟanṟivai yāvumaḻittiṭu tarkunai yallātu vallavar yār
ninṟator tūṇiṭai vantanai, yānai mun ninṟanai kañcanaiyun
koṉranai mannavai yūṭuriyappala kūṟai koṭuttanaiye[82]

Śiva himself, asserts in this verse that He and Kṛṣṇa are one and the same. Kṛṣṇa is one of mighty capacity, who appeared as man-lion in the pillar, faced the elephant Kuvalayāpīḍa, killed Kaṁsa and protected Draupati's honour by providing her with sarees.

In another verse Kṛṣṇa is praised by Śiva as the creator, sustainer and protector of the Universe.

munnuruvayinai ninṟiru nāphiyin muḷariyin vāḻ munivaṉ
ṟannuruvāki yiruntu paṭaittanai pala cakataṇṭamu nī
ninruruvāki yaḻittiṭu kinṟanai nitta viphūtiyinā
lennuruvāki yaḻikkavu ninṟanai yem perumān enave[83]

Another important point to be noted in this verse is that Śiva himself says that He and Kṛṣṇa are not different.

ennuruvaki yaḻikkavu ninranai

Such a thought shows surely, the continuation of the Vedic tradition. These ideas run parallel to those found in classical Sanskrit Literature[84] to which reference was made earlier and also given here.

So far about the two great immortal epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, their similarities and dissimilarities with the Tamil versions. A few other episodes like Nala's story, the *Naccu poykai* (Poisonous pond) and others will be discussed in a separate chapter.

Notes and References

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2. MD. 15616. MT. 1626. IO. 6578.
3. *Annals of Ori. Res.* Univ. of Madras VII.2.
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6. *ABORI.* XXIII.1942.
7. MD. 1886-8. TD. 9389.
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9. *FISC.* I.ii. p. 705.
10. Adyar I. p. 126b. MD. 1900 TD. 9394-9400.
11. K.V.R. Ayyangar, ABORI, XXII. pp. 30-54.
12. *Govindarājīya* and *Tilaka*. N.S. Press, Bombay, 1911 (2) in 7 Vols Kumbhakonam.
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14. Note the sequence of names. From foot to head the God's limbs are decorated with suitable ornaments, which also form the names of the commentary.
15. *Orl. Res. Inst. Skt. Ser.* 102. Bālakāṇḍa.

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30. cf. *Dharmākūta* by Tryambaka yajvan above.
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35. Adyar I. p. 127a.
36. MT. 3492(c).
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38. MD. 1895.
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45. Mysore I. p.160. Adyar D.X.855. TCD. 1111. Vaṇī Vilās Press, Srirangam, 1929.
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50. *Kampa Rāmāyaṇa*, Eḻuccippatalam - Uṇḍāṭṭuppaṭalam pp. 701 ff.
51. Ibid. Mitilai kātccippaṭalam, vv. 78 ff.
52. Ibid. vv. 76-77.
53. *Kampa Rāmāyaṇam*, *Mikaippāṭalkaḷ* pp.221 ff.
54. GD. 140-2. TCD. 1990 See *P.V. Kane*, *Festschrift* pp. 351-55. 1941.
55. *bahudeśa samānīta bahu kośa nirikṣaṇāt.*
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56. Vāṇī Vilās Press, 1929, Cf. Adyar D.X. 849, Extr. p. 520.
57. Adyar, D.X. 402. Extr. pp. 401-3.
58. TCD. 198. TD. 8662 (*Mokṣadharma*).
59. VKSN. *op.cit.* pp. 57, 67.
60. Adyar D.X. 331 (inc.) Extr.
61. MT. 3492C.
62. K.V. Zvelebil *Hist of Tamil Lit.* pp. 130, 143.
63. M. Arunachalam, *Hist. of Tamil Lit.* 9th cent. A.D. Pt I p. 8. also; K.V. Zvelebil *Tamil Lit.* pp. 130 and 143.
64. See K.V. Zvelebil *Hist. of Tamil Lit.* pp. 130-31; 142-43.
65. Tiruvālaṅkāṭu inscriptions refer to this Pāṇḍya ruler who established a *Maturai Caṅkam* and one of his officers established the Śaiva path by translating the *Pāratam* in sweet Tamil . But this work is extant.
66. pp. 109, 208, 215, 258, 259 (*Poṟuṭ Paṭalam*, 9, *Alaṅkarappaṭalam* 10, 12, 28,29).
67. Tamil Lit. 9th cent. I. p.8.

68. M.A. 9th cent. Pt. I.p.69. *Bhāratavenpa* of Peruntēvanār, p.lll. v. 372. Cf: also *Veṇīsaṁhara* of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa Act I. v.25 (Bhārata war as a Yajña).

69. *Villipāraṭam*, p.2. v.l.

70. *Villipāratam, Kurukulaccarukkam*, p.38, v v. 58 ff.

71. *Ādi.* 96, l, 2, 4-7, 9, 97.

72. *Bhagavad Gita. Bharata Veṇpā* of Peruntēvanār.

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74. *Mudarporccarukkam* vv. 2-7.

75. *Mudarālporcarukkam* v.

76. Ibid. v.6.

77. Ibid. v.7.

78. *Patinmūnrāmporcarukkam* vv. 46-48.

79. *Mahābhārata* of Villipputtūrār 13th day war pp.446 ff.vv. 190-225.

80. *Mahābhārata* of Vyāsa. *Droṇa Parva*. Chs. 79-81.

81. *Villipāratam* p. 459. vv. 212-15.

82. Ibid. Bh. p. 495. v. 219.

83. Ibid. v. 220.

CHAPTER V

WRITERS ON ADVAITA

Introduction

Philosophical speculations found in the early *Upaniṣads* and systematised in Bādarāyaṇa's *Brahmasūtra* and the *Bhagavadgītā* are the basic sources for all later schools of Vedanta philosophy. The major *Upaniṣads*, the *Brahmasūtras* and the *Bhagavadgītā* are known as the *Prasthānatraya*. Śaṅkara takes them as his source book. Rāmānuja accepted the *Pāñcarātra* texts and the Tamil works of the Āḷvārs also as authoritative. Madhva considered some of the *Purāṇas* also as important. It is interesting to note that the three main schools of Vedānta-Advaita, Viśiṣṭādvaita and Dvaita were founded in South India.

Though Saṅkarācārya is famous as the most important exponent of Advaita there were many earlier writers on this system like Bhartṛhari and Gauḍapāda. Among pre-Śaṅkara South Indian philosophers of Advaita, special mention may be made of Draviḍācārya and King Sundarapāṇḍya.

Draviḍācārya

Draviḍācārya is one of the pre-Śaṅkara philosophers of South India who is referred to by Śaṅkarācārya, Vācaspati and other Advaita philosophers as well as the Viśiṣṭādvaita writers like Rāmānuja and Vedānta Deśika. He is well-known as the author of a commentary on *Chāndogyavākya* of Brahmanandin also known as Taṅka. Vācaspati Miśra in his commentary *Bhāmatī* on the *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya* (I.i.4.) refers to Draviḍācārya.

Seventeen *vākyas* are found quoted in various Viśiṣṭādvaita texts as from Draviḍācārya. These have been collected and given by Van Buitenan in his edition, *Vedārthasaṅgraha*. Draviḍācārya was an ancient philosopher considered as authoritative both by Advaitins and Viśiṣṭādvaitins.

Śri Muraḷīdhar Pāṇḍya (pp.154ff.) tries to distinguish the Advaitin into Draviḍācārya and the Viśiṣṭādvaitin into Dramiḍācārya. There is no sufficient

evidence for such a distinction. The m/v phoneme alternation is common in Tamil and the difference in spelling between Dramiḍa and Draviḍa need not be taken seriously to prove their distinction. But it is true that the Advaitic tradition refers to Dramiḍācārya's sub-commentary on Brahmanandin's *Chāndogyopaniṣad*, whereas the Viśiṣṭādvaita texts refer to Draviḍācārya's brief commentary on the *Brahmasūtra: Cf. Siddhitraya.*(p.9) Pāṇḍeya (p.l62) considers Dramiḍācārya to have written a Tamil commentary on the *Brahmasūtra* on the basis of this quotation and identifies him with Śaṭhakopa. In the *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi* (IV.44) Sureśvara quotes a passage from Śaṅkara and refers to him as a Draviḍa. Here the term Draviḍa only means South Indian.

Ācārya Sundara Pāṇḍya

Ācārya Sundara Pāṇḍya was an ancient Advaita philosopher of Tamil Nāḍu, earlier than Śaṅkarācārya and Kumārila Bhaṭṭa. According to the popular tradition he was also known by the name Pāṇḍyarāja Kubjavardhana and Kūna Pāṇḍya, and had the title Arikesari. It is said that this King Pāṇḍya was originally a follower of Jainism and that it was Tirujñānasambandha who converted him to Śaivism. Sundara Pāṇḍya is worshipped as one among the 63 Śaiva devotees or Nāyanmārs and is known as Mahārājanāyanār. Tradition says that he married a princess of the Cola dynasty.

We have no definite evidence to prove the identity of the philosopher Sundara Pāṇḍya with the Śaiva devotee. The author of the didactic poem, the *Nītidviṣaṣṭika* in l20 verses is also composed by one Sundara Pāṇḍya, often identified with the philosopher. Regarding the works of the philosopher all that we know definitely is that three verses quoted anonymously by Śaṅkarācārya in his *Bhāṣya* on the *Brahmasūtra* I.i.4 have been identified as those of Sundara Pāṇḍya, by Ātmasvarūpa in his commentary on the *Pañcapādikā*.[1a]

Ślokatrayan idam Sundara Pāṇḍya praṇītam
Pramāṇayati ityāha.

The verses are as follows:

gauṇa mithyātmano sattve putradehāḍi bādhanāt /
sad brahmātmāham ityeva bodhakāryam katham bruve //
anveṣṭarvya ātma vijñānāt prāk pramātṛtaram ātmaraḥ /
anviṣṭas syāt pramātaiva pāpma doṣādi varyitaḥ //
dehātma pratyayo yadvat pramāṇatvena kalpitaḥ /
laukikam tadvadevedam pramāṇam tvātma miścayāt //

(p.242 of Bhamati, Adyar)

Another quotation of Sundara Pāṇḍya is in the *Tantravārttika* of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa (on III.iii.7.[2]) Three verses quoted therein anonymously are identified as Sundara Pāṇḍya's by Amalānanda in his *Kalpataruṭīkā* commentary.

The verses are:

nih śreṇyārohaṇa prāpyam prāptimātropa padi ca /
ekameva phalam prāptum bhāvārohato yadā //
ekasopānavartyeko bhūmiṣṭhaśca aparas tayoḥ /
ubhayośca javas tulyaḥ pratibandhaśca nāntarā //
virodhinostadaiko hi tatphalam prāpnuyāt tayoḥ /
prathamena gṛhite' smin paścimo vataren mudhā //
āha ca atra nidarśanam sundara pāṇḍyaḥ

(Sūtasamhitā, IV, 12-13)

Tathā sundara pāṇḍya vārttikamapi :-

dehātmapratyayo yadvat pramāṇatvena sammataḥ /
lankikam tadvadevedan pramāṇam tvātma niścayāt //

On the basis of the above evidence it can be said that Sundara Pāṇḍya must have flourished earlier than Śaṅkara and may be assigned to the sixth century A.D.

Śaṅkarācārya

Śaṅkarācārya, the greatest and most famous exponent of the Advaita doctrine, is accepted to have been a scholar from Kerala, who had his literary and religious activities throughout India. According to the traditional biographies like *Śaṅkaravijaya* of Vidyāraṇya, he travelled throughout India, discussed with scholars and converted them to Advaita, wrote commentaries on the *Brahmasūtras*, major *Upaniṣads*, and the *Gītā* and established Maṭhs in different parts of India for preserving and propagating Hinduism in its proper form. Several *stotra* works and philosophical manuals are ascribed to him, and he is considered to have restabilised the worship of the six deities (*Ṣaṇmatasthāpaka*). Śaṅkara's date is generally taken to be 788-825 A.D.[3] There is also a view that his date is 4th century B.C. Śaṅkarācārya is mentioned here since he is associated closely with the Kāñci Kāmakoṭi Pīṭha. According to some of the *Śaṅkaravijayas* Śaṅkarācārya attained *siddhi* at Kāñcī. Kāñcī was the cultural centre at that time and any scholar who wanted to establish his reputation would certainly have had to come to Kāñcī. Even though the traditional biographies are of later

origin and contain conflicting information especially regarding Śaṅkara's association with the various *maṭhs*, there is every probability that Śaṅkara came to Kāñcī and established his reputation at that great cultural centre. Details regarding the works of Śaṅkara are not discussed here since they are well-known and since they do not come within the scope of this thesis.

Śrī Padmapādācārya

Śrī Padmapādācārya, the well-known disciple of Saṅkara is also associated with Tamil Nadu according to some traditions. Vyāsācala in his *Śaṅkaravijaya* gives an account of his visit to Rāmeśvaram and the loss of the copy of the *Pañcapādikā*, which was burnt completely.[4] He is the author of the *Pañcapādikā*, a commentary on the *Brahmasūtra* as well as the commentaries on *Prapañcasāra* of Śaṅkara, *Ātmabodha*, an independent treatise, *Svarūpānubhava* and *Pañcākṣarībhāṣya*.

Sureśvara[5]

Sureśvara, another disciple of Śaṅkara is also associated with Kāñci, as he was the head of the Kāmakoṭipītha there. He was the author of the *Vārttikas* on the *Taittirīya* and the *Bṛhadārnyaka Upaniṣads*, the commentary *Mānasollāsa* on the *Dakṣiṇāmūrtistotra* and a commentary on the *Pañcīkaraṇa*[6] of Śaṅkara.

Sarvajñātman

The original name of Sarvajñātman according to tradition was Mahādeva and he was a native of a village Brahmadeśa on the bank of the river Tāmraparṇī. It is said that he was initiated into *Sannyāsāśrama* by Śaṅkara himself and then became known as Sarvajñātman. This account of his life is given in the commentary *Suṣamā* on *Jagadgururatnamālāstava*.[7] It is mentioned here that Sarvajñātman conquered the Jains. It is claimed that he was in charge of the Kāmakoṭi pīṭha for 70 years jointly with Sureśvara and independently for 40 years after Sureśvara.[8]

Sarvajñātman wrote three works: (1) *Saṅkṣepaśārīraka*[9] (2) *Pañcaprakriyā*[10] and (3) *Pramāṇalakṣaṇa*.[11] Sarvajñātman is traditionally considered to be a pupil of Sureśvara. He in the *Saṅkṣepaśārīraka* refers to his preceptor as Deveśvara. Madhusūdana Sarasvatī in his commentary on *Saṅkṣepaśārīraka*[12] identifies Deveśvara with Sureśvara, the *Vārttikakāra*.[13] Rāmatīrtha in his commentary on the same explicitly names the preceptor of Sarvajñātman as Sureśvara.[14] At the end of *Saṅkṣepaśārīraka* occurs a verse which says that it was written during

the reign of a King Manukulāditya.[15] This Manukulāditya is sometimes identified with Ceramān Perumāḷ (9th cent.) of Kerala. According to a few other scholars, he is the Cola King Āditya I (871-1070 A.D.) of the Manukula. T.A. Gopinatha Rao identifies him with Bhāskara Kavi Varman (978 A.D.)[16] of Kerala. But we do not have any definite evidence to decide whether Sarvajñātman belonged to Tamil Nadu or Kerala or under which ruler he wrote his work as the identifications are not based on definite facts.

Since Sarvajñātman quotes from *Iṣṭasiddhi*,[17] in his *Pañcaprakriyā*, he must be later than 900 A.D. and the entire tradition making him a contemporary of Saṅkara and Sureśvara has to be rejected.

Jñānottama Miśra

Another foremost Advaita writer of Tamil Nadu was Jñānottama Miśra, son of Nāgeśa[18] of Maṅgaḷa village in the Cola country. His civil name was probably Jñānottama, after his father's guru; as head of the maṭh he was called Jñānānanda. M. Hiriyanna opines that there were two Jñānottamas of whom the younger one was the head of the *pīṭha* at Kāñcī and was the author of the commentary *Candrikā* on the *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi* of Sureśvara. He belonged to 1300 A.D.[19] He wrote (1) the commentary *Candrikā* on *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi*[20] and (2) *Vivaraṇa* on *Iṣṭasiddhi* of Vimuktātman.[21] In his commentaries he has profusely made use of the views of earlier writers.

Nārāyaṇārya

Vedānta Deśika in his *Nyāyapariśuddhi*[22] and *Tātparyacandrika*[23] commentary on the *Bhagavadgītā* refers to a gloss on *Bhagavadgītā* by Nārāyaṇārya. It is opined that this Nārāyaṇārya[24] must be different from his namesake who wrote *Nītimālā*, as the former is grouped with *Yādavaprakāśa*[25] by Vedānta Deśika. Nārāyaṇārya appears to have used a text of the *Gītā* which had some more additional verses which were not accepted by Vedānta Deśika.[26] *Vedāntasūtropanyāsa* by Śaṅkara, son of Yajñeśvara is mentioned[27] in the commentary *Nyayaprakāśikā* by Meghanādāri on *Śrībhāṣya*. Probably it is identical with the anonymous work with this title[28] found in the Tanjore Saraswati Mahal Library collection.

Rāmādvayācārya, probably hailed from Tamil Nadu was the disciple of Advayāśrama. From his reference to the logicians of 13th cent. we can infer that he must have flourished during the years 1300 - 1400 A.D. He wrote *Prakaraṇagrantha Vedānta kaumudī*.[29]

Appayya Dīkṣita who figures next was a prolific writer on Saivism, and a commentator on *Yādavābhyudaya kāvya*. He wrote several Vēdānta texts also.[30] *Ratnatraya parīkṣā* is a gem of his writings which tries to bring a synthesis of Hari, Hara and Gaurī. Here he stresses the need for worship of Nārāyaṇa and Gaurī for the attainment of Śiva.[31] N. Ramesan in his work *Appayya Dīkṣita* gives a full account of this writer. He, in more than one way, tried to harmonise Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism and Advaita and reduce the mutual controversies raging between these systems.

Nṛsiṁhāśrami was another prominent figure in the field of Vedanta. He is said to have lived at Puruṣottamapura near Kāñci. Another account says that he was known as Saccidānanda Śāstri before he became a *sannyāsin* and was a resident of Śolinghur.[32] He must have flourished during 1500-1600 A.D.

Nārāyaṇāśramī, the pupil of this well-known author was also a popular figure. He wrote the commentary *Vivaraṇa* on his preceptor's work *Advaitadīpikā*.[33] *Nigamanārtha Candrikā*[34] and a commentary *Satkriyā* on *Bhedadhikkāra*[35] are two more of his works.

Bhāskara Dikṣita was the son of Umāmaheśwara[36] and of Hārita *gotra*. Umāmaheśvara is described as 'the crest-jewel of Cola land and *Sarvatantrasvatantra pravartaka*. He hailed from Konerirājapuram in the Cola country. Umāmaheśvara was the pupil of the well-known advaitic scholar and writer Nṛsiṁhāśrama. Bhāskara (16th cent. A.D.) wrote the *Ātmatattva parīkṣā*[37] following the texts of *Upavarṣa*, and *Taptamudrāvidrāvana*[38] and commentary *Ratnatūlikā* on *Siddhānta-siddhāñjana*.[38a]

Mahādeva Sarasvatī, pupil of Svayamprakāśānanda, was the pontiff at Kāmakoṭi Maṭh. He lived during 1600-1700 A.D. He wrote several works on *Vedānta*[39] of which special mention can be made of his *Tattvānusandhāna*.[40] This work, adapting the yogic method for reaching identity with the Supreme Being through *Prāṇāyāma*, describes how to protect such a knowledge which led to the realisation of identity. This treatise in four *paricchedas* deals with *māyā*, *pañcīkaraṇatattva*, authority of *smṛtis*, the form of salvation.

Siddhāntacandrika[41] of Rāmānanda tries to establish that the Advaita philosophy alone can free men from all evils of life and no other system is capable of such a thing.

Lokanātha of Ālaṅgudi was the son of Nārāyaṇa Śāstrin and grand grandson of Nṛsiṁhāśrami. He composed *Advaita muktasāra*[42] which is in 3

chapters and his own commentary *Kānti* on it. An attempt is made by scholars to identify this Lokanātha with his namesake, who wrote *Kandarpadarpaṇabhāṇa*[43]

Subrahmaṇya Varṇi, a native of Tamil Nadu was the disciple of Kṛṣṇānanda. He wrote a commentary *Prakāśa* on *Pañcaratna prakaraṇa*[44] of Śrī Śaṅkara Bhagavatpāda (or his guru?). He lived between 1650 and 1750 A.D.

Kṛṣṇānanda Sarasvatī or Bālakṛṣṇa Bhagavatpāda of Cola country was the son of Viśvanātha and Ambāryā. He had many disciples. He lived during the last quarter of 17th cent. and was an elder contemporary of Śāhaji of Tanjore.[45] He composed several *stotras*. His contributions to Vedānta is a small tract, *Upadeśa daśaka* in 12 verses in which the *Mahāvākya* in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣat tat tvam asi* is expounded and repeated as refrain. Another work of his shows that the material worship leads to impersonal worship. This text *Śaparyā paryāya* is in 26 verses[46]. *Praśamāmṛta*, longest poem in 128 verses, describes the stage when the mind without getting annihilated but under control becomes perceptive to the blissful nature of *Ātman*.[47]

Raṅganātha sūri of Kuraviśeri of Colakanallūr, was the pupil of Kṛṣṇānanda Sarasvatī. He wrote *Puruṣārtharatnākara*, which is ascribed to the preceptor.

Sadāśiva Brahmendra[48] was a famous Avadhūta *Sannyāsin*, steeped in Advaita system of philosophy. He had attained powers of *siddhi* and many other miraculous powers. He was the disciple of Paraśmaśivendra Sarasvati, the 57th Head of Kāmakoṭi Pīṭha. He lived in the 17th cent. *Ātmavidyāvilāsa*[49], a poem by him expresses the joy of self-realisation. *Ātmānātmaviveka*[50] in the form of a catechism is his another work. His contributions to culture are manifold. He had done great service by composing songs on Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, the river Ganges, songs with advaitic concepts and so on. His minor works are available in print.[51]

Appā Dīkṣita of Eḍayāttamaṅgalam village lived during the 18th cent. He was the son of Dharmarāja Veṅkaṭa Dīkṣita and grandson of Veṅkaṭasubrahmaṇya Dīkṣita, a descendant of Appayya Dīkṣita I.

In refutation of *Viṣṇutattvarahasya*, *Vimatabhañjana* was written by him. This work has the purpose of defending Appayya Dīkṣita I's stand on the supremacy of Śiva, against the criticism by the Dvaita author of *Viṣṇutattvarahasya*.[52]

Acyutakṛṣṇānandatīrtha (1650-1750 A.D.) was the pupil of Svayamprakāsa and Advaitānanda.

On the nature and characteristics of various *pramāṇas* or means of valid knowledge, he wrote *Māna mālā*[53] in 45 verses. On *Siddhāntaleśasaṅgraha* he wrote the commentary *Kṛṣṇālaṅkāra*[54]. Two other works of his are the *Bhāvadīpikā* a commentary on *Bhāmati* and *Prabhāvyākhyā* on *Bhāṣyaratna.*[55]

The need for casting aside worldly pleasures and trying to attain salvation through proper knowledge is explained in *Siddhāntacandrikā*[56] of Rāmānanda Sarasvati (18th cent.)

Dharmarāja Adhvarīndra who hailed from Kaṇḍaramāṇikkam village was a well-known advaitic scholar whose *Vedāntaparibhāṣa* is of great value. He belonged to the 18th cent. A.D. He was the son of Trivedi Nārāyaṇa yajvan of Kauṇḍinya *gotra* and a Ṛgvedin. He was the grand pupil of Nṛsiṁhāśrama. His son Rāmakṛṣṇādhvarin wrote a commentary on his father's *Vedāntaparibhāṣā.* He was the paternal uncle and teacher of Pettā Dīkṣita who wrote a commentary on *Tattvacintāmaṇi prakāśa* of Ruci Datta.[57]

Upaniṣad Brahmendra[58] was a *sannyāsin* who wrote commentaries on the Upaniṣads, texts on advaita. He was a great Rāmabhakta and a musician. He was a contemporary of Tyāgarāja. Several works on Advaita Vedānta, either in the form of super commentaries or small tracts expounding the necessity for controlling the mind through *yoga* or by the power of knowledge and realising the Supreme Being, were written by him. There was also an attempt to integrate the three schools of philosophy. Thus the tree of Advaita Vedanta was nurtured by these treatises. His contributions to advaita and music are given in the *New Catalogus Catalogorum Volume II.* Also references to his works and studies on them are given in different journals.

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CHAPTER VI

WRITERS ON VISIṢṬADVAITA

Introduction

The development of Srī Vaiṣṇavism had its roots not only in the ancient Vedic texts but also in the Tamil *Divya Prabandham* suṅg by the Āḻvārs. The Ācāryas who followed the Āḻvārs had to bring into harmony the teachings embodied in the *Vedas*, the *Upaniṣads* and the *Gītā* on the one side and the Tamil *Divya Prabandham* on the other side. They became known as *Ubhayavedāntins* i.e. those who reconciled the Sanskrit works and the Tamil *Prabandhams*. They popularised the use of the *Prabandhams* and included them in temple worship. The teachings of self surrender taught by the Āḻvārs and the esoteric and metaphysical teachings embedded in the Vedas and other sacred texts were blended into the homogeneous system of Śrī Vaiṣṇavism.

Nāthamuni (or Raṅganāthamuni) (A.D. 824-924)

He was one of the foremost Viśiṣṭādvaita savants. His father was a great *Pāncarātrika* by name Īśvara Muni. He was a resident of Vīranārāyaṇapura or Kāṭṭu Mannārguḍi in South Arcot District.[1] His most important service to Vaiṣṇavism was gathering together the hymns of the Āḻvārs, *Nālāyira Divya Prabandham*, setting them to music and arranging them for singing in Vaiṣṇavite temples.[2] In this endeavour he was assisted by his nephews Kiḻaiagattāḻvār and Melaiagattāḻvār.[3] Several stories are current about his being a contemporary of Nammāḻvār or his disciple Madhurakavi and also about his collecting the hymns of the Āḻvārs. This effort of Nāthamuni raised the status of *Nālāyiradivyaprabandham* and made this sacred text stand on par with the *Vedas*.[4] Two treatises were written by him, *Nyāyatattva* and *Yogarahasya*. Both are lost. *Nyāyatattva* is quoted several times by Vedānta Deśika in his *Nyāyasiddhānjana*,[5] *Nyāyapariśuddhi*[6] and other treatises. From the several quotations of *Nyāyatattva*, in prose and verse, and references to its sections as *Jñānapāda*, *Prameya*, *Pramāṭṛ* and *Karma* and *Nyāya Pādas* and also into *adhikaraṇas* which are probably subsections, this work appears to be a voluminous treatise criticising

the views of logicians.[7] This treatise is referred to as *śāstra* in *Siddhitraya*[8] of Yāmuna. Deśika himself says in his *Nyāyasiddhāñjana*[9] that *Ātmasiddhi* itself is a digest of the *Nyāyatattva*. According to *Prapannāmṛta*[10], he was the author of three works, *Nyāyatattva*, *Puruṣanirṇaya* and *Yogarahasya*.[11] But Vedānta Deśika says that Nāthamuni wrote only two works[12] and that *Puruṣanirṇaya* referred to here is that of Yāmuna.[13] Nāthamuni appears to be the earliest of the scholars who wrote treatises in Sanskrit on Śrī Vaiṣṇava philosophy. Unfortunately both his works are not extant.

Guruparamparāsāra of Vedānta Deśika mentions eight disciples of Nāthamuni: Uyyakkoṇḍār, Kurugaikkāvalappan, Nambi Karuṇākaradāsar, Eṛu Tiruviḍaiyān, Tirukkaṇṇamaṅgaiyāṇḍān, Vānamādevi Āṇḍān, Uruppattūr Āccān and Sokattūr Āḻvān.[14] Amongst these disciples the life history of Uyyakkoṇḍar or Puṇḍarīkākṣa is given in the *Ārāyirappaḍi Guruparampará*,[15] *Guruparamparāprabhāva* (Vaḍakalai),[16] *Prapannāmṛta*[17] and *Periyatirumuḍiyaḍaivu*.[18] In the last treatise, it is said that Uyyakkoṇḍār was born at North Tiruvellarai near Koil. He was also known as Puṇḍarīkākṣa, Padmākṣa, Rājīvākṣa and Aravindākṣa and lived between 826-931 A.D. But none of his works has come down to us. Two of his verses are quoted in the *Satadūṣaṇi* of Vedānta Deśika.[19]

Śrīrāma Miśra: *(or Maṇakkāl Nambi)* was the pupil of Puṇḍarīkākṣa. He was the preceptor of Yāmuna who was responsible for giving a spiritual turn to his life.[20]

Yāmunācārya (or Ālavandār) (916-1041 A.D.)

The grandson of Nāthamuni was one of the leading exponents of Śrī Vaiṣṇavism.[21] Traditional accounts of his life are found in the *Guruparamparās*,[22] *Divyasūricarita* and *Prapannāmṛta*.[23] In *Gītārthasaṅgrahaharakṣā*,[24] Vedānta Deśika refers to the following religious as well as philosophical treatises of Yāmuna; *Śrīstuti* or *Catuśśloki*, *Stotraratna*, *Gītārthasaṅgraha*, *Āgamaprāmāṇya*, *Siddhitraya*, *Kāśmirāgamaprāmāṇya*, and *Puruṣanirṇaya* or *Mahāpuruṣanirṇaya*. *Śrīstuti*[25] or *Catuśśloki* in four verses explains the position of *Śrī or Lakṣmi* in delivering the soul. *Stotraratna*[26] popularly known as *Ālavandārstotra*, in sixty five ślokas is mainly concerned with the doctrine of self-surrender (*prapatti*). The important teachings of the *Gītā* from the standpoint of Viśiṣṭadvaitins forms the subject matter of *Gītārthasaṅgraha*.[27] In his *Āgamaprāmāṇya*,[28] the orthodoxy of the Pañcarātra system is established. The *Siddhitraya*,[29] in three sections *Ātmasiddhi*, *Īśvarasiddhi*, and *Samvitsiddhi*, is the most important of his works. In the three sections, it establishes the nature of the Individual soul (*Ātman*), the

Supreme Lord (*Īśvara*), and the relation between the soul and the objects of perception (*saṁvit*). His *kāśmīrāgamaprāmāṇya* and (*Mahā*) *Puruṣanirṇaya* are not available and are known only through citations in his Āgamaprāmāṇya.[30] *Nāmamauktikamālikā*, attributed to him, gives in twenty stanzas, one hundred and twenty names of Viṣṇu.[31]

Rāmārya: Among several authors referred to by Vedānta Deśika, Rāmārya is also one.

rakṣitṛtvam tu Rāmāryais trayyantārṣthe ca sūcitam[32]

Trayyantārtha referred to as his work is not extant.

Kāñcīpūrṇa or Tirukkacci Nambi, a native of Dharmapuri or Pūvirundavalli,[33] was the son of Vīrarāghava and Kamalā. He flourished in A.D. 1004. He was a disciple of Mahāpūrṇa and was serving Lord Devarāja. According to tradition he clarified some of the doubts of Rāmānuja.[34] He composed *Devarājāṣṭaka* in praise of God Varadarāja.[35]

One of the predecessors of Rāmānuja was Bodhāyana. He wrote a commentary *Vṛtti* on the *Brahmasūtras* of Bādarāyana. This is referred to by Rāmānuja in *Sribhāṣya*.[36]

Bhagavat Bodhāyanakṛtam Brahmasūtra vṛttim
pūrvācāryāḥ samcikṣupuḥ, tanmatānusāreṇa
sūtrākṣarāṇi vyākhyāsyante.

The successors of Bodhāyana are Brahmanandin *alias* Taṅka, Dramiḍa, Guhadeva, Kapardin and Bhāruci. They are all referred to by Rāmānuja in his *Vedārthasaṅgraha*. Brahmanandin alias Taṅka wrote a commentary *Vākya* on *Chāndogyopaniṣad*.[37] This commentary is quoted and referred to by later commentators.

Rāmānuja (1017-1137 A.D.)

He was the foremost exponent of Viśiṣṭādvaita philosophy and his service to the cause of Śrī Vaiṣṇavism is immense. The Viśiṣṭādvaitic system of Philosophy and religion was put on firm grounds by his treatises and the systematisation of ritualistic practices in the great Vaiṣṇava temples. Several hagiological texts like *Āṟāyirappaḍi*,[38] (*Vaḍakalai*),[39] *Prapannāmṛta*[40] and *Kōyil Oḻuku*[41] give traditional accounts of his life. There is also *Rāmānuja Campu*[42] describing Rāmānuja's life and activities.

He was born at Śrīperumbudūr in the Kali year 4219, Śaka 939 as the son of Kāntimatī and Keśava Dīkṣita of Haritagotra.[43] Rāmānuja was also known by other names like (l) Iḷayāḷvār (2) Yatirāja (3) Uḍayavar, (4) Kōyil Aṇṇan (5) Emberumānār (6) Lakṣmaṇamuni.

He began his studies under Yādavaprakāsa, but discontinued his studies because of difference of opinion with the teacher. It is said that Yāmuna sent him his *Stotraratna* through his disciple Periya Nambi. Rāmānuja went to Śrīraṅgam to meet Yāmuna, but Yāmuna died before his arrival. Later Periya Nambi taught him the preliminaries of *Viśiṣṭādvaita*. After some time Rāmānuja took to Sannyāsa Āśrama. At the request of the Vaiṣṇavites, he went to Śrīraṅgam to be the head of the Vaiṣṇava community and reorganised the temple worship there. He had several disciples of whom the prominent were Kūreśa, Śrī Rāma Miśra and Kiḍāmbi Āccān or Praṇatārtihara.

Some of the important events in Rāmānuja's life are the conversion to Vaiṣṇavism of Yādavaprakāśa, his former preceptor and Yajñamūrti, an advaitin; establishing the identity of the God at Tirupati, as Viṣṇu; the consecration of the Govindarāja temple at the foot of the Tirupati hills; and the fulfilling of the three desires of Yāmuna viz., immortalising the memory of Parāśara who wrote a commentary on *Viṣṇusahasranāma*, propagating the glory of Nammāḷvār and writing a commentary on the *Brahmasūtra* from the Viśiṣṭādvaita point of view.

He asked Parāśara Bhaṭṭa to write the commentary *Bhagavadguṇadarpaṇa* on *Viṣṇusahasranāma* and Kurukeśvara, to compose the *Ārāyirappaḍi* (*Ṣaṭsāhasrī*) on *Tiruvāymoḷi*. After studying the *Prabandham*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and also the teachings of Yāmuna from Mahāpūrṇa, Goṣṭhīpūrṇa, Mālādhara, Raṅgadāsa and Śrīśailapūrṇa, he began writing the commentary on the *Brahmasūtras*. It is said that he went to Kashmir to get Bodhāyana's *Vṛtti* on the *Brahmasūtras*. When King Kulottuṅga Coḷa I (llth cent.) started persecuting the Vaiṣṇavites, Rāmānuja left for Mysore. There he converted, the Hoysala ruler Biṭṭideva, who was a Jain to Vaiṣṇavism. He also renovated the Yādavagiri temple and named that place as Tirunārāyaṇapuram. Later he came back to Sriraṅgam where he died.

His *Vedārthasaṅgraha*[44] is an original treatise explaining the teachings of the principal *Upaniṣads* according to Viśiṣṭādvaita. *Vedāntadīpa*[45] is a lucid commentary on the *Brahmasūtras* and *Vedāntasāra*[46] explains the main points in the *Brahmasūtras*. His *Bhāṣya* on the *Gītā* emphasises *Bhakti*. *Śrībhāṣya*, his *magnum-opus* interprets the *Brahmasūtras* from the Viśiṣṭādvaitic point of view. Another work of his is *Gadyatraya*:[47] consisting of (l) *Śaraṇāgatigadya*,

appealing to Goddess Lakṣmī and the Lord for protection after self-surrender; (2) *Śrīraṅgagadyastotra* to the Lord at *Śrīraṅgam* and (3) *Śrīvaikuṇṭhagadya* requesting the Lord for His grace. *Nityagrantha*[48] deals with the daily worship of the Lord. *Vedāntadīpa* another commentary by him on the *Brahmasūtras* contains some verses with explanations in prose.[49]

Kūreśa

Amongst the disciples of Rāmānuja, Kūreśa or Kūranātha or Śrīvatsāṅka or Kūrattāḻvar was the son of Rāma Miśra of Hāritagotra. He was born in 1039 A.D. at Kūram near Kāñcī and lived in Śrīraṅgam. He was the father of Parāśara Bhaṭṭa.[50] He is said to have defeated the Śaivas in a contest held in the court of the Cola King Kulottuṅga I or Krimikaṇṭha Coḷa[51] in 1078 A.D. The following are the works written by him:

1) *Kureśvijñāpana* in three verses on Śrīvaiṣṇavism. 2) *Nārāyaṇāṣṭaka* 3) *Pañcastavī*, a collection of five stavas i) *Atimānuṣastava* ii) *Varadarājastava*, iii) *Vaikuṇṭhastava* iv) *Śrīstava* v) *Sundarabāhustava* 4) *Yamakaratnākara* a *kāvya* in 16 *Āśvāsas* in Āryā metre, on the life of Kṛṣṇa upto Kaṁsavadha. Kūreśa helped Rāmānuja in writing *Śribhāṣya* which is referred to in his works. *Kūreśavijaya* ascribed to him gives an account of how Kūreśa upheld the supremacy of Viṣṇu and vanquished the Śaivities in a debate held in Kulottuṅga's court. *Gadyatrayavyākhyāna* is mentioned as his work in the traditional account.

Praṇatārtihara (alias **Kiḍāmbi Āccān**) of Ātreyagotra (1057-1157 A.D.)

He was another disciple of Rāmānuja. As he served his preceptor by looking after the kitchen duties and as water-bearer, he came to be known as Ghaṭāmbu or Kiḍāmbi. Because of his proficiency in giving discourses on Śrībhāṣya, he was known also as Vedāntodayana. Vedānta Deśika refers to him in *Rahasyatrayasāra* in the following lines: *Vibudhapariṣan niṣevyam Vedāntodayana sampradāya sudhām.* In the *Guruparamparā*, he is referred to both as *Vedottamāṅgodayana* and *Ātreyācārya*. He taught the precepts about Lakṣmī or Śrī to Nañjīyar.

śrībhāṣyam darśayitvā yatipatiracitam śaradāyai
nivṛtte natva śrī veṅkaṭeśam patī
paramapadam dattavān gopikāyai
ākhyām vedottamāṅgodayana iti dadad bhāṣyakāreṇa dattām
ātreyācāryāya viṣṇor anujam anudinam sādaram tam namāmi.

Śrī Rāma Miśra (alias **Somāsiyāṇḍān)** (1094 A.D.)

He was a direct disciple of Śrī Rāmānuja.[52] His father was Yajña Dīkṣita and mother Śrī Maṅgavallī, the sister of Rāmānuja. He was a resident of Tirumaṅgala near Tiruvahīndrapuram.[53] After his early education he was sent by his father to his uncle Rāmānuja, under whom he studied Śrībhāṣya. Under Kūreśa he learnt *Āṟāyirappaḍi.* Thus he became proficient in the Sanskrit and Tamil scriptures. His knowledge in the *Śrībhāṣya* is spoken of very highly in a traditional verse.[54]

Under instruction from his preceptor Rāmānuja, he went to Yādavagiri and helped in the arrangements for the recitation of *Divyaprabandhas.* He was endowed with the title of *Kratunātha* by Rāmānuja, when a sacrifice was performed on the banks of the Kāverī. He was also known as Somāsiyāṇḍān (i.e. Somayāji Āṇḍān).

He wrote *Śrībhāṣyavivaraṇa*, a commentary on *Śrībhāṣya* of his preceptor. This work is lost but Vedānta Deśika quotes this in his treatises.[55] Meghanādāri also refers to this commentary in his *Nayadyumaṇi*[56] referring to Śrī Rāma Miśra as a great personality in the field of Vaiṣṇavism. A commentary by him on *Vedārthasaṅgraha* is referred to in *Nyāyasiddhāñjana*[57] by Vedānta Deśika. An independent treatise, *Sadarthasaṅkṣepa* by him is cited by Vēdānta Deśika in his works.[58] This work deals with the following subjects: the soul, *Brahman*, *avidyā*, destruction of *avidyā*, means of getting release and *mokṣa*.[59]

In the introduction to the edition of *Nayadyumaṇi*,[60] the following are given as his works in a traditional list.

1) *Tattvasāra*
2) *Tattvadipīkā*
3) *Vedāntasaṅgraha*
4) *Dramiḍasaṁhitā*
5) *Yāganirṇaya*,
6) *Āhnika*,
7) *Śrībhagavadrāmanujadayāśataka*,
8) *Guruguṇāvali*,
9) *Guruparamparānusandhāna*,
10) *Prapannagāyatrīśataka*
11) *Rāmānujapadayugalī*,
12) *Raṅgastuti*,
13) *Śaraṇāgatiśāstra.*

Śrī Rāma Miśra is referred to by Deśika in his *Abhayapradānasāra* while discussing the oft-quoted verse from the *Rāmāyaṇa* on *Śaraṇāgati* where it is taken as dative by Somasiyanāṇḍā and as ablative by a few others.[61] Probably

the above reference made by Desika is from the last work in the list, the *Śaraṇāgatiśāstra* which is not available now.

Parāśara Bhaṭṭa (or Vedāntācārya Bhaṭṭa)

He was the son of Śrīvatsāṅka Miśra,[62] a grand pupil and successor of Rāmānuja. He must have belonged to early 12th century. Deśika quotes him in his *Nyāyapariśuddhi*[63] and *Nyāyasiddhāñjana* and accepts his views. *Tattvaratnākara*[64] a work not extant is one of Bhaṭṭa's treatises to which Vedānta Deśika refers often. *Adhyātmakhaṇḍadvaya-vivaraṇa*[65] mentioned in *Nyāyasiddhāñjana* is also lost. He has also composed a work *Aṣṭaśloki*[66] explaining the import of the three *mantras*.

Kriyādīpa or *Nityārcanavidhi* by him is on the daily duties of *Śrīvaiṣṇavas*.[67] One of his significant contributions is *Śrī Guṇaratnakośa*[68] explaining the place of *Śrī* in salvation. *Bhagavadguṇadarpaṇa*[69], a commentary on the *Viṣṇusahasranāma*, was written at the request of Rāmānuja to fulfil the desire of Yāmuna.[70] On Lord Raṅganātha he composed the *Raṅgarājastava*.[71] *Lakṣmīkalyāṇa*, another work of Bhaṭṭar is found quoted by Deśika. In the commentary *Tātparyacandrikā* on *Bhagavadgitā*, in *Sārasāra (eṉṟu lakṣmīkalyāṇattil nammāḻvar pāśuramāga Bhaṭṭar aruḷicceytār)* and in *Rahasyatrayasāra* some quotations are give about this.

So far no manuscript of this work has come to light. One verse is quoted in *Rahasyatrayasāra*[72] in the name of Parāśara. It is another verse to illustrate the position of Jīva in relation to God.

Śrī Viṣṇucitta

He was also known as Englāḻvān. He was the disciple of Kurukeśvara of Tirukkuruhai Pirān Piḷḷān,[73] a disciple of Rāmānuja and lived between 1106-1200 A.D. He was the preceptor of Vātsya Varadācārya, the author of *Tattvasāra*. In a *taniyan* on Kurukeśvara, it is said that Viṣṇucitta was one among those proficient in *Sribhāṣya*. Viṣṇucitta also wrote a commentary *Viṣṇucittīya* on the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*.[74] In this work several quotations are given from the *Vedas*, *Kūrmapurāṇa*, *Matsyapurāṇa*, and *Liṅgapurāṇa* in addition to *Jyotiṣa* works and *Smṛti* texts. His two other works quoted by Vēdānta Deśika are *Prameyasaṅgraha*[75] and *Saṅgatimālā*.[76] In *Catuhślokībhāṣya* of Deśika, a *Gadyatrayavyākhyāna*[77] of this author is also referred to.[78] Perhaps this may be an exposition on *Prapatti* as found in *Rāmānujagadya*. Besides these some more quotations are found in *Nyāyapariśuddhi* and *Nyāyasiddhāñjana*, without mentioning the source. These may be from one of his treatises referred to

above. It is said that Śrī Viṣṇucitta accepted Vātsya Varada as his spiritual son and taught him *Śrībhāṣya*.

Ranganātha or Nañjīyar

He was born at Tirunārāyaṇapuram in lll4 A.D. He was a great advaitin and was known as Mādhavasūri and Vedāntin before he came into the Vaiṣṇava fold, being defeated by Parāśara Bhaṭṭar in a contest and became a disciple of Bhaṭṭar. Raṅganātha is the name he got from Bhaṭṭa; later he was called Nañjīyar.[79] He is popularly known by this name in the Tamil Vaiṣṇavite works[80] and as Nārāyaṇa Muni, his *dīkṣā* name in the Sanskrit treatises.[81] He wrote the commentaries *Onpadināyiram paḍi* on *Tiruvāymoḻi*. On *Tiruppaḷḷi eḻucci* and *Kaṇṇinun-cirut-tāmbu* also in *maṇipravāḷa*.[82] Besides these he wrote in Sanskrit *Nityagrantha* and *Śrīsūktabhāṣya*. The former is quoted several times in *Pāñcarātrarakṣā*[83] of Deśika. The reference to Paṭalas in this quotation shows that the work was divided into sections called *Paṭalas*. Deśika in his *Rahasyatrayasāra* refers to one Periya Jīyar[84] as the author of a *Nityagrantha* and *Śrīsūktabhāṣya*. One of these quotations is the same as the one found in *Pāñcarātrarakṣā*, quoted under the name of Nārāyaṇamuni. *Śrīsūktabhāṣya*,[85] a commentary on *Śrīsūkta*, a *khila* of the *Ṛgveda* was written by him after having learnt the principles of Śrī from *Praṇatārtihara*, a disciple of Rāmānuja.[86] This commentary has an important place in Vaiṣṇavite literature since there are profuse quotations of Vedic hymns on Lakṣmī, besides quotations from the *Mahābhārata*, *Viṣṇupurāṇa* and other Vaiṣṇava *saṁhitas*.

Varada Narāyaṇa Bhaṭṭāraka (or Vakulabhṛtkiṅkara)

He is a Viśiṣṭādvaitin. Vēdānta Deśika quotes this author by referring to his work *Prajñāparitrāṇa*. His *Nyāyasudarśana* is an exposition of the *Śrībhāṣya*.[88]

Vaṅgi Vaṁśeśvara

As daily ritualistic worship to be done to the deity formed a necessary part of Vaiṣṇavites, several treatises were written on that topic. *Nityagrantha* of Rāmānuja and *Nitya* of Raṅganāthamuni were already referred to. Vedānta Deśika in his *Pāñcarātarakṣā* and *Rahasyatrayasāra* refers to *Āhnika kārika*[89] of Vaṅgi Vaṁśeśvara. This work[90] in 528 verses lays down the daily duties of the Vaiṣṇavities.

Vātsya Varadacārya (or Naḍādūr Ammāl)

He was the son of Devarāja, the grandson of Varada Viṣṇu, the nephew of Śrī Rāmānuja. Varada Viṣṇu was the first scholar ordained for expounding

Śrī Bhāṣya.[91] According to traditional accounts Vātsya Varada was born at Kāñcī in Kali 4177.[92] He lived between 1165 and 1275 A.D.; learnt all the Śāstras from his father and studied *Śrībhāṣya* under Śrī Viṣṇucitta.[93] Among his major contributions in the field of Viśiṣṭādvaita *Tattvasāra* and *Tattvanirṇaya*[94] are important works. On *Prapatti* or self surrender he wrote *Prapannapārijāta*.[95]

Some more works are found in his name, viz:

1. *Arcitādiśloka.*
2. *Ārādhanākārika*
3. *Āhnikacūḍāmaṇi*
4. *Caturlakṣaṇasaṅgraha*
5. *Dramiḍopaniṣatsaṅgraha*
6. *Jayantīdarpaṇa*
7. *Jñānasāra*
8. *Paramārthastuti*
9. *Paratvādipañcaka*
10. *Prameyamālā*
11. *Prameyasāra*
12. *Maṅgalāśāsana*
13. *Rahasyasaṅgraha*
14. *Śrībhāṣyasaṅgraha*
15. *Sārārthacatuṣṭaya*
16. *Hetirājastava.*[96]

In the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, manuscripts of *Smṛticūḍāmaṇisaṅgraha* are found. The beginning of one of the manuscripts runs thus:[97]

> *iti Vaisnavāgre sara Vātsya Varadācarya pranīta*
> *smṛticūdāmaṇ yāmuktā visesa vacana*

In another manuscript the colophon[98] is also given:

From the above reference we can infer that he wrote a *Smṛticūḍāmaṇi* also. *Āhnikacūḍāmaṇi* portion found in the second manuscript is probably the same as the one given in the above list of his works.

Prameyamālā a treatise in ten sections is a criticism of the Advaita Vēdānta.

1) *Adhyayanavidhi*
2) *Aikaśāstrasamarthana*
3) *Prapañcamithyātvabhaṅga*
4) *Bhedaduṣaṇavistara,*
5) *Bhavāntarabhāvasamarthana*
6) *Akhaṇḍavākyārthabhaṅga*
7) *Trividhaparicchedarāhitya*

8) *Sarvaśārīrakastava*

9) *Nirviśeṣa-vādināmapaśūdranyāyādivirodhāpādana*

10) *Yatiliṅgasamarthana.*

In the opening verse of this work Śrī Viṣṇucitta, the preceptor of Vātsya Varada is saluted.[99] The quotations given by him show clearly that *Prameyamālā* was composed by Varadaguru, the scion of the Vātsya family. In *Bhagavadārādhanasaṅgraha*, the verse in the end gives the name of Vatsyavaradārya as its author.[100] This treatise may be the same as *Ārādhanākārikā* found in the above list of his works. A copy of the manuscript of *Sārārthacatuṣṭaya*[101] deals with the following subjects. 1. *Svarūpajñāna*, 2. *Virodhabhañjana* 3. *Śeṣatvajñāna* 4. *Phalajñāna.* From the above it is clear that *Sārārthacatuṣṭaya* was composed by Vatsya Varada. His *Paramārthastuti*[102] or *Prātaranusandheyaślokadvaya* in two verses is to be recited daily by othodox Vaiṣṇavas. *Hetirājastava*[103] is in praise of Sudarśana, the discus of Lord Viṣṇu. It is so called because the work begins with the words '*Heti*'. He had two disciples Ātreya Rāmānuja and Sudarśanācārya. Naḍuvil Āḻvan was also his student according to the *Guruparampara.*[104]

Besides composing these treatises he gave expositions of *Śrībhāṣya* and *Arāyirappaḍi.*

Seneśvarācārya

The connections between the different sections of *Śrībhāṣya* formed the subject matter for a few treatises. Of these Seneśvarācārya's (Śāriraka) *Nyāyakalāpasaṅgraha*,[105] is worth mentioning. This author is referred to by Vedānta Dēśika in *Adhikaraṇasārāvali.*[106] In his commentary on the above work, Kumāravaradācārya, son of Vedānta Deśika refers to Seneśvara as the most intimate and best beloved of Śrīraṅgarāja.[107] On the basis of this reference *Śrīraṅgarājaparikaratallajaḥ*, Seneśvāra is sometimes taken to be the disciple of Śrīraṅgarāja; but the identity of Raṅgarāja is not known, and the term may refer to the deity at Śrīraṅgam. In the above quotation Seneśvara's name occurs before Vakulabhṛtkiṅkara, who was a disciple of Śrī Rāmānuja. Anyhow he must have been earlier than Deśika. Piḷḷai Lokācārya an elder contemporary of Vedānta Deśika extracts a statement of Seneśvara in his *Mumukṣuppaḍi*,[108] while explaining the *Praṇavamantra.*

Abhayaprada

Abhayapradasūri *alias* Kṛṣṇa sūri is also known as Peria Vāccān Piḷḷai. According to traditional accounts he was born at Sanganallūr, as the son of

Yāmuna Deśika.[109] He is said to have composed the following works: *Irupattināl̤āyiram*, a commentary on *Tiruvāymoḻi*, commentaries on the Tamil *Prabandhas*. *Aṣṭarahasya* commentaries on the *Rahasyas* comprising the *Paranta rahasya* and other works. His other contributions are commentaries on *Jitantestotra*, *Catuḥśloki* and *Stotraratna*[110] of Yāmuna and *Gadyatraya* of Rāmānuja. All these are called *Stotragadya vyākhyā*. His son Abhirāmavara or Raṅgarāja[111] called Nainārāccān Pillai wrote *Jñānārṇava*, *Tattvatrayavivaraṇa*, *Aṇutvapuruṣakāratvasamarthana*, *Muktābhogāvali* and *Caramopāyanirṇaya*.[112] Of these *Jñānārṇava*[113] is a Pāñcarātra text and is available in the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library. *Tattvasaṅgraha*[114] is also by him, though not included in the traditional list.

Udak Pratoli Bhaṭṭa

Udak Pratoli Bhaṭṭa or Vadakkuttiruvīthippiḷḷai (1167-1262 A.D.) was also known as Kṛṣṇapāda. None of his Sanskrit works is available.

Piḷḷai Lokācārya (1205-1310 A.D.)

His treatises are in Maṇipravala only. *Tattvaviveka*,[115] a manuscript appears to be his work is in the Adyar Library.

Ātreya Rāmānuja

Ātreya Rāmānuja or Kiḍāmbi Appuḷḷār was the maternal uncle and preceptor of Vedānta Deśika and was the fifth in the line of Vaiṣṇava Ācāryas beginning from Rāmānuja. According to traditional accounts, he was the son of Padmanābhārya, also called Raṅgarāja[116] of Ātreyagotra and was born at Kāñcī in the year 1220 A.D. (Kali era 4322).[117] He studied philosophical texts under Vātsya Varadaguru and the inner significance of the sacred *mantras*. He was also known as *Vādihaṁsāmbuvāha*, because of his extra-ordinary skill in dialectics. His nephew and disciple Vedānta Deśika speaks very highly of his knowledge. His capacity for teaching is extolled by his pupil in *Rahasyatrayasāra*, *Acāryakṛtyādhikāra*.[118] Ātreya Rāmānuja was the author of *Nyāyakuliśa* (thunderbolt of Reason). This treatise written in terse prose uses *kārikas* in between for bringing home pointed expositions. It is cited by his student Vedānta Deśika in his *Nyāyapariśuddhi* and *Nyāyasiddhāñjana*.[119] In the thirteen sections of this work the author deals with the philosophical problems from the Viśiṣṭādvaitic point of view. Vedānta Deśika in his commentary *Tātparyacandrikā*[120] on *Śrībhāṣya* of Rāmānuja quotes a verse of his uncle Ātreya Rāmānuja. According to Prof. Rāmānujachari, this verse may be from a religious lyric (*stotra*) on God Varada.

Three other works are ascribed to him: *Sarvadarśanaśiromaṇi*, *Mokṣasiddhi* and *Divyasūriprabhāvadīpika*,[121] but the last work is by a recent author, Vedānta Rāmānuja.[122]

Meghanādārisūri

One of the leading Vaiṣṇavite scholars was the son of Adhvaranāyikā and Nātha alias Raṅganātha of Ātreya gotra,[123] who lived prior to Deśika. He was the seventh descent from Śrī Rāma Miśra,[124] disciple of Rāmānuja and the author of the *Sadarthasankṣepa*. He has given an account of himself both at the beginning and at the end of his treatise *Nyāyaprakāśikā*, where he refers to his elder brother Hastyādrinātha and two younger brothers Varadarāja and Rāmabhadra.[125]

In the beginning of this work *Nyaprakāśikā*, he pays obeissance to the elders and preceptors. We come to know from the introductory verse that his father was his preceptor. He also refers here to the spiritual preceptors Rāmānuja and Śrī Rāma Miśra who was his ancestor. Deśika indirectly refers to him in the *Nyāyapariśuddhi*.[126] This can only be a conjecture for showing that he was earlier to Deśika as in another place in the same text he expresses similar views on *Upamāna*.[127] Meghanādāri refers to a Vādisiṁha as the author of *Arcirādigrantha*.[128] If this Vādisiṁha can be identified with Vādikesarin or, Saumyajāmārtṛmuni,[129] the disciple of Periyavāccān Piḷḷai (1168-1263 A.D.), then he must have lived in the 13th century.[130]

Meghanādāri wrote three works: *Nyāyaprakāśikā*[131] is a commentary on the *Śrībhāṣya* of Rāmānuja. The author says in the beginning of this commentary that he tries to give an exposition of the (Viśiṣṭādvaitic) tenets implied in the *Bhāṣya* of Rāmānuja. Another work of his, *Bhāṣyabhāvaprabodha* is a brief exposition of Śrībhāṣya.[132]

Nyādyumaṇi[133] in twelve sections explains the principles of this school. *Mumukṣūpāyasaṅgraha*[134] referred to as his work is not extant.

Sudarśanabhaṭṭa

He was the great grandson of Kūreśa and a student of Vātsya Varadācārya alias Naḍādūr Ammāḷ and lived about the end of the 13th century. He wrote a long commentary *Śrutaprakāśikā*[135] and a short commentary, *Śrutapradīpikā* on *Śrībhāṣya*.[136] On *Vedārthasaṅgraha* of Rāmānuja, *Tātparyadīpikā*[137] commentary was written by him. A gloss on *Śaraṇāgatigadya* is his another work.[138] *Subālopaniṣadvyākhya*[139] is ascribed to him.

Nārāyaṇārya

Nārāyaṇārya, the author of *Nītimālā* is later than Rāmānuja,[140] whom he quotes. He is earlier than Vedānta Deśika who quotes him in his *Nyāyapariśuddhi.*[141] *Nītimālā*[142] discusses the main tenets of Viśiṣṭādvaita in a lucid manner in prose interspersed with verse. From a reference in *Mīmāṁsāpādukā*[143] and *Seśvaramīmāṁsa*[144] of Vedānta Deśika, it appears that Nārāyaṇārya wrote a work summarising the *Mīmāmsāsūtras* of Jaimini. Another reference in the commentary *Mīmāṁsāpādukāparitrāṇa*[145] by Varada Deśika, also refers to *Mīmāmsāpādukā*. It therefore appears that Nārāyaṇārya leaving out the redundancy of the expositions, compressed the Mīmāṁsāsūtras into a smaller treatise. This work is also lost.

Alagiyamaṇavālapperumāḷ Nayanār

He was the younger brother of Piḷḷai Lokācārya. He lived between 1208-1303 (or 1236-1331 A.D.) and wrote *Ācāryahṛdaya*[146] in Maṇipravāḷa.

Śrī Vedānta Deśika

Next to Rāmānuja, Śrī Vedānta Deśika known variously as Veṅkaṭanātha and Tūppuḷ Piḷḷai, was the most dynamic exponent of Viśiṣṭādvaita. He was born in 1268 A.D. at Tūppuḷ, near Kāñcī as the son of Anantasūri and Totarāmbā.[147] His maternal uncle was Ātreya Rāmānuja, under whom he learnt the *Śāstras* and *Kāvyas.* He refers to his preceptor often in his *Rahasyatrayasāra*[148] and praises him in glowing terms. Deśika led an austere life and it is said that he sustained himself on alms (*Uñchavṛtti*). His literary activities were centred mainly around the shrines at Tiruvahīndrapuram, Kāñcī and Śrīraṅgam, though he travelled far and wide including North India. He has contributed richly to various spheres of Vaiṣṇavism like religion, philosophy and literature. He wrote not only in Sanskrit but also in Maṇipravāla, Tamil and Prākṛt.

Being mainly an exponent of Viśiṣṭādvaita, his important treatises are in the field of *Vedānta.* Several original treatises criticising the rival systems and proving the soundness of Viśiṣṭādvaita stand to his credit. Of these *Śatadūṣaṇī*[149] is a treatise in terse prose refuting Advaita. Only sixty-six *vādas* of this are extant. *Vāditrayakhaṇḍana,*[150] a work of similar nature, found in the name of Kavitārkika Siṁha may be by his son Varadācārya. *Tattvaṭīkā*[151] is an elaborate commentary on *Śrībhāṣya.* But this is also not completely available. *Tattvamuktākalāpa*[152] in 501 verses gives an exposition of the following topics in the five *saras* or strings into which this work is divided. viz. 1. *Jaḍa* 2. *Jīva*

3. *Nāyaka* 4. *Buddhi* and 5. *Adravya*. There is a commentary *Śarvārthasiddhi* on the same by the author himself. *Adhikaraṇasārāvaḷi*[153] is a summary of the *Śrībhāṣya* on each *Adhikaraṇa* of the *Brahmasūtra*. This is in 562 verses. *Nyāyapariśuddhi*[154] is a treatise showing the classical *Nyāya* as in agreement to the *Viśiṣṭādvaita*. *Nyāyasiddhāñjana*[155] is a sequal to the above work, but not available. He wrote *Seśvaramīmāṁsā*[156] trying to establish the harmony between the *Pūrvamīmāṁsā* and the *Uttaramīmāṁsā* in the light of *Viśiṣṭādvaita* tradition. *Mīmāṁsāpāduka*[157] is a metrical treatise of similar nature.

Deśika composed five *Rakṣas*: *Saccaritrarakṣā*, *Rahasyarakṣā*, *Gitārthasaṅgraharakṣā*, *Nikṣeparakṣā* and *Pāñcarātrarakṣā*. *Saccaritrarakṣā*[158] in its three *adhikaraṇas* deals with the religious practices of Śrī Vaiṣṇavas. *Rahasyaraksā* in four sections is a commentary on *Gadyatraya*[159] of Rāmānuja and also on *Catuḥśloki*[160] and *Stotraratna*[161] of Yāmuna. His *Gītārthasaṅgraharakṣā*[162] is a commentary on the *Gītārthasaṅgraha* of Yāmuna. On *Nikṣepa* or *Prapatti*, he wrote *Nikṣeparakṣā*.[163] An important contribution of Vedānta Deśika is *Pāñcarātrarakṣā*[164] in three *adhikāras*, establishing that Pāñcarātra *āgamas* are founded on the *Vedas* and are authoritative.

Among his literary works, *Yādavābhyudaya*[165] stands foremost. It is a *Mahākāvya* based on the story of the *Bhāgavata*, in 24 cantos, in praise of the glory of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. Its popularity prompted the Śaivaite scholar Appayya Dīkṣita to write a commentary. *Haṁsasandeśa*[166] is a beautiful lyrical poem on the model of *Meghasandeśa*. Rāma sending a swan (the *haṁsa*) as the messenger to Śītā imprisoned at Laṅkā forms the theme of this poem. Divided into two *āśvāsas*, the first one in 60 verses describes the route to be followed by the swan, wherein are located several holy places and shrines of South India. The second one, in 50 verses, portrays the pining Śītā and gives the message to be conveyed to her. The inner meaning of the verse appears to be the deliverance by Divine Grace of the dedicated soul from the clutches of Karma. His *Subhāṣitanīvī*[167] is a didactic poem in twelve *paddhatis*: *Anipuṇa*, *Dṛpta*, *Khala*, *Durvṛtta*, *Asevya*, *Mahāpuruṣa*, *Samacitta*, *Sadāśrita*, *Nītimat*, *Dhanadhanya* or *Vadānya*, *Satkavi* and *Parīkṣita Paddhatis*. His another work *Samasyā Sahasri*[168] is lost. *Pādukāsahasra*[169] in 1008 verses extols the *Pādukas* of Sri Raṅganātha. The significance of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is also brought out through these verses. The author's capacity as a poet is brought out through this work. Tradition says that this work was composed in a single night.

Deśika wrote a commentary on *Īśāvāsyopaniṣad*.[170] *Tātparyacandrikā*[187] is a commentary on *Gītābhāṣya* of Rāmānuja. *Adhikaraṇadarpaṇa* and *Nigamaparimala* are lost. The following are small treatises on different subjects

written in *Maṇipravāla* style: *Amṛtarañjanī Rahasya*[188] numbering seventeen and *Amṛtāsvādinī Rahasya*,[189] numbering eleven. A few other independent treatises in *Maṇipravāḷa are: Paramata Bhaṅga, Hastigiri Māhātmya, Paramapadasopāna* and *Rahasyatrayasāra.*[190] *Bhagavad Ārādhana vidhi, Yajñopavītapratiṣṭhā* and *Haridina Tilaka*,[191] which serve as guide books for the daily duties of the Śrīvaiṣṇavites, are ascribed to him. A few other separate treatises in Tamil are also said to be written by him: *Panduppā, Kaḷalpā, Ammānaippā, Ūśalpā, Eśarpā.* None of these is available. The following works are ascribed to him, though we have no definite evidence about his authorship: *Vaiśvadevakārikā, Guruparamparasāra, Dhātipañcaka, Yamakaratnākara, Daśadīpikānighaṇṭu, Vedārthasaṅgrahavyākhyāna* and *Bhūgola Nirṇaya.* These are some of his works said to be lost: *Śilpārthasāra, Tirumuṭi Aṭaivu, Steyavirodha* and the *Cakrasamarthana.* He was considered to be the very incarnation of the *Ghaṇṭā* (bell) of Lord Veṅkaṭeśvara of Tirupati. He made important contributions to the different fields of Philosophy, *Kāvyas* and *Stotras* and helped the development and spread of Vaiṣṇavism. It is said that he undertook to preserve the copy of *Śrutaprakāśikā* commentary of Sudarśana Bhaṭṭa on the *Śrībhāṣya*, when there was trouble in Śrīraṅgam area. After spending some years at Śrīraṅgam, being persecuted by Muslims, Vedānta Deśika left for Melkoṭe and then to Satyamaṅgalam. He lived upto a ripe old age of 100 years.

Varadācārya (alias) **Aḷagiya Maṇāvāla**

He was known as Saumyajāmātṛmuni or Vādikesari Miśra. He was born at Mannārkoil in Brahmadeśa in the South. He had his initiation under Periyavāccān Piḷḷai and also learnt the daily ritualistic practices. Nainārāccān Piḷḷai, son of his preceptor taught him *Divyaprabandha, Śrībhāṣya* and other philosophical texts.[176] As Periyavāccān Piḷḷai's date is 1167-1262 A.D., Saumyajāmāṭṛmuni must have flourished in the 13th century.

Among his works are: 1) *Adhyātmacintāmaṇi*,[177] a metrical treatise on the nature of the Jīva as expounded in the Rahasyamantras. 2) *Tattvadīpa* (*prakāśa*)[178] explaining the meaning of *Aṣṭākṣaramantra, Dvayamantra* and *Caramaśloka.* 3) *Tattvasaṅgrahakārikā*[179] is a metrical epitome of the *Tattvadīpa.* 4) *Rahasyatrayakārikā*[180] and 5) *Rahasyatrayavivaraṇa*[181] both being metrical treatises on the *Rahasyamantras.* In all these treatises the following *Taniyan* is found: *Sundarajamāṭṛ muneḥ prapadye caraṇāmbujam*[181a] *saṁsārārṇava summagna jantu santāra potakam.* The colophons give the author's name as Śrimad Vādikesari Misra.

A short treatise *Tattvasaṅgrahasārārtha*[182] might have been composed by him. Herein Abhayaprada or Periyavāccān Piḷḷai is saluted in the beginning of this work and Saumyajāmāṭṛmuni is given as the author of the work in the colophon. According to tradition the following works are ascribed to him of which a few may be in Maṉipravāḷa:

Pannīrāyiram on *Tiruvāymoḻi*
Irupattināḷāyira Pramāṇattiraṭṭu
Saṅgati in verse form on *Tiruvāymoḻi*
Tattvanirūpaṇa on *Rahasyāmṛtavivaraṇamāḷā*
Maṇipravaḷavyākhyāna on the *Gītā*
Tamiḻkkaviprabandha
Tattvabhūṣaṇa,
Gītāsāra, Catuśśloki Dīpasaṅgraha.[183]

Abhirāmavara, grandson of Saumyajāmātṛmuni or Maṇavāḷamāmuni (1370-1444 A.D.) wrote *Upadeśaratnamāḷā*,[184] a Sanskrit translation of his grandfather's work of the same name in Tamil. His other *stotra Nakṣatramāḷikā*[185] is on Saṭhakopa.

Prativādibhayaṅkaram Aṇṇangarācārya (1300-1410 A.D.) of Vatsagotra, was one of the pupils of Vedānta Deśika and Saumyajāmātṛmuni. He wrote a *stotra* on Deśika, (Vedāntadeśika) *Saptatiratnamālikā*.[186] This is on the life and works of Deśika and is the best one of this class. He wrote *Abhedakhaṇḍana*,[187] condemning monism. He was the author of a commentary on *Aṣṭaśloki* of Parāśara Bhaṭṭa expounding the Viśiṣṭādvaita principles.

Apūrvabhaṅga,[188] a short work criticising the Mīmāṁsā view about *Apūrva* is by one Śrī Vatsāṅkasūri, disciple of Varadārya of Vatsagotra.

Vātsya Varada referred to here as the grandson of the nephew of Rāmānuja must be the same as the author of the *Tattvasāra* and other works. He had two disciples Ātreya Rāmānuja and Sudarśana Bhaṭṭa. Probably Sri Vatsāṅka, the author of *Apūrvabhaṅga* was also his pupil.

Mahācārya (1509-91 A.D.) or Doḍḍayācārya,[189] also called Rāmānujadāsa, was a native of Shoḷinghur. He studied under his father (Vādhūla) Śrinivāsācārya. Some of his contemporaries were Appaya Dīkṣita and Raṅgarāmānuja. He was the author of the following works:

1) *Ācāryaviṁśati*

2) *Vedāntadeśikavaibhavaprakāśikā*,[190]

3) *Śatadūṣaṇīvyakhyiācaṇḍamāruta*,[191]

4) *Śrutitātparyanirṇaya*,[192]

5) *Pārāśaryavijaya*[193]

6) *Śrībhāṣyopanyāsa*[194]

7) *Vedāntavijaya*.[195]

Tirukkurukaippirān Piḷḷān alias Śaṭhakopa, son of Tirumalai Nambi (973-1073 A.D.), maternal uncle of Rāmānuja, was treated as the spiritual son (*Jñānaputra*) by Rāmānuja. Under his instructions Śaṭhakopa wrote a Maṇipravāla Commentary on *Tiruvāymoḻi* of Nammāḻvār.[196]

Peria Āccān Piḷḷai *alias* Abhayaprada or Kṛṣṇa (1226 A.D.) was the father of Abhirāmavara alias Raṅgarājayajvan. This Abhirāmavara wrote *Jñānārṇava*[197] and *Tattvasaṅgraha*.[198]

Another Abhirāmavara wrote *Dramiḍopaniṣattātparya* or *Dramiḍāmnāyasaṅgati*, a short version of *Tiruvāymoḻi*[199] He is identified with Vādikesarimiśra or Saumyajāmāṭṛmuni (13th cent. A.D.)[200]

Kumāra Vedāntācārya (1316-1406 A.D.) or Varadācārya, son of the polymath, Vedānta Deśika wrote commentaries on many of his father's works. He was called Kumāra Vedānta Deśika, Kumāra Varadācārya, Nayinārācārya and Kumāra Nayinārya.[201] The *Avidyā* doctrine of Advaitins is criticised in his *Avidyākhaṇḍana*[202]. Another work of his, *Āśrayānupapatti* refutes the view that Brahman is the substratum of *avidyā*. *Vāditrayakhaṇḍana*,[203] though ascribed to Deśika is said to be the work of Nayinārācārya. The views of Śaṅkara, Bhāskara and Yādavaprakāśa are examined and refuted in this work. He also rendered into Sanskrit *Virodhaparihāra*[204], the Maṇipravāla work. A few other treatises by him are *Mimāmsāpādukāparitrāṇa*, *Adhikaraṇacintāmaṇi* and *Vyāvahārikasatyatvakhaṇḍana*.[205] In the field of devotional literature, he wrote, *Deśikastotrā*[206] and *Prārthanāṣṭaka*. *Deśikaprapatti*[207] and *Deśika-maṅgalāśāsana* also belong to this class.

Next important personality is Campakeśācārya (15th - 16th cent. A.D.) the son and pupil of Varadācārya (Kauśika). He belonged to the family of Toḷappa or Saumitrideśika. He wrote several works criticising the views of Madhva in his *(Madhva) Tātparyacandrikākhaṇḍana* and *Muṇḍa-sannyāsakhaṇḍana*, *Śrutaprakāśikāvyākhyālaghutattvaprakāśikā* and others.[208]

Raṅgarājamuni (16th cent. A.D.)[209] was the pupil of Tātācārya and Vātsya Anantācārya. Vādhūla Mahācārya and Appayya Dīkśta were his contemporaries. He too wrote a commentary *Bhāvaprakāśikā* on *Śrutaprakāśikā*,[210] *Mūlābhāvaprakāśa*[211] *Nyāyasiddhāñjanavyākhyā*[212] and *Śārīrakaśāstrārthadīpikā*.[213]

Bhagavadviṣaya is a short commentary[214] on *Tiruvāymoḻi*, following Vaḍakalai sect.

Ahobala of 16th cent. A.D. belonged to Ātreyagotra. He wrote a Sanskrit rendering of *Taniśloki* of Periya Āccān Pillai or Kṛṣṇapāda, called *Pratyekaślokavistāra*.[215]

Appayya Dīkṣita, (16th cent.) the great polymath wrote *Nayamayūkhamālikā*, a commentary on the *Brahmasūtra*, as based on *Śrībhāṣya*. This forms part of *Caturmatasārasaṅgraha*.[216] The teachings of Rāmānuja and some important ceremonial functions of Śrīvaiṣṇavas formed the subject matter of *Rāmānujasiddhāntasāra*.[217] *Viṣayavākyadīpikā*[218] is a commentary on some of the Upaniṣadic texts referred to in the *Brahmasūtras*. He had the title *Upaniṣadbhāṣyakāra*, since he wrote commentaries on ten major Upaniṣads and six other Upaniṣads[219], *Agnirahasya*, *Atharvaśikha*, *Kauṣītakī*, *Māntrika*, *Svetāśvatara*, *Subālopaniṣad*.

Veṅkaṭeśa (18th cent. A.D.) of Śrīvatsagotra was the son of Pratiṭvādibhayaṅkarārya.

He wrote *Śārirakadīpikā*,[220] in the form of an eulogy on Bhūvarāha at Śrīmuṣṇam. The meaning of the various *adhikaraṇas* of the *Brahmasūtra* are explained in this eulogy. The author salutes his father Varayogin, and his gurus Vedāntācārya and Yatirāja. His *Draviḍāmnāyasaṅgraha*[221] is a summary in 100 stanzas of the Tamil work *Tiruvāymoḻi* of Śaṭhakopa. *Bhagavadārādhanakramakārikā*[222] gives the details about the conduct of worship of the God's images as instructed by Maṇavāḷamāmunï. Śrīnivāsācarya (Śriśailayogin) was a resident of Śrīperumbudūr. He lived probably during the 18th cent. He wrote a polemical work *Brahmapadaśaktivāda*,[223] expounding the term Brahman. His another treatise *Sāraniṣkarṣaṭippaṇi*[224] is on the import of a verse in the second chapter of *Rahasyatrayasāra*.

Notes and References

1. *Guruparamparāprabhāva* (G.P.) (vaḍakalai) p.47. A traditional account of Nāthamuni is given here pp.47-54. See also *Ārayirappāḍi Guruparamparāprabhāva*, Tenkalai, pp.97-108 for a similar account.

2. Dr. M. Narasimhachari, *Contribution of Yāmuna to Viśiṣṭādvaita*, pp.4-8.
3. *Ārayirappāḍi Guruparamparā*, p.103.
4. Ibid. pp.103-4.
5. Ibid. pp.194-6, 199, 205, 232 etc.
6. Ibid. pp.130, 132, 172.
7. *Nyāyapariśuddhi* (NP), p.87.
8. *Ātmasiddhi*, p.65. *Yathārthakhyātisamarthanena ca śāstram iti na vyāvarṇyate.*
9. Ibid. p.243. *Nyāyatattvaśāstraprakaraṇam hi Ātmasiddhiḥ.*
10. *Prapannāmṛta*, Ch.108. v.44.
11. See *IPC* VI.1961.pp.484-89
12. *Guruparamparāsāra* (the introductory part of the *Rahasyatrayasāra*), p.8.
13. *Gītārthasaṅgrahārakṣā*, p.3.
14. *Guruparamparāsāra*, p.8.
15. Ibid. pp.109-11.
16. Ibid. pp.54-8.
17. Chapter, 109, verse 2.
18. p. 12.
19. *Vedāntadeśikagranthamālā*, p.68.
20. Dr. M. Narasimhachary, *op.cit.* p.8.
21. For a detailed study of his life and works see Dr. M. Narasimhachary, *Contribution of Yāmuna to Viśiṣṭādvaita*, Madras, 1971.
22. *Ārayirappāḍi Guruparamparā*, pp.111.42.
23. PA pp.428 ff.
24. *Gītārthasaṅgrahārakṣā*, p.3
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31. Ibid. pp.319-21.
32. *FISC* .I. i. p.437.
33. See *Periyatirumuḍiyaḍaivu*, p.17.
    For an account of his life, also See *History of Tamil Literature*, 11th cent. by M. Arunachalam pp.331-34.
34. *Guruparamparā Prabhāva* (*Vaḍakalai*) (3000-paḍi) p.88; *PA*, pp.30-1.
35. *Stotraratnākara* II, p.32; see New Catalogus Catalogorum Vol. III. p.299b.
36. *Śrībhāṣya*, I. i. 1. p.1.
37. *K.B. Pathak Commemoration Volume* 1944, pp.151-58.
38. pp.150-307.
39. pp.73-133.
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50. *Ārayirappāḍi Guruparamparā*, pp.157, 251, 257 ff; also *New Catalogus Catalogorum*, Vol. IV. p.263a-b.

51. *NCC* Vol. IV. p.264a.

52. *Periyatirumuḍiyaḍaivu*, p.20.

53. *Nayadyumaṇi*, Introduction, pp. Cxlii ff.

54. *VVG.* Rakṣas

55. *Nyāyapariśuddhi*, p.170; *Nyāyasiddhāñjana*, pp.210, 211, 219.

56. p. 25. *Śrīrāmamiśrācāryairuktañca*; p.171.
Kiñca asmannatajñaparivṛḍhātamaiḥ
Śrīrāmamiśraiḥ prathamapadavivaraṇe.

57. p. 161.

58. *Nyāyapariśuddhi*, pp.152-3; *Nyāyasiddhāñjana*, pp. 202, 210, 211 etc. *Tattvamuktākalāpa*, p.163, *Rahasyatrayasāra*, II. p.21.

59. Cf: *Nyāyaprakāśikā*, (in the edition of *Śrībhāṣya* with ten commentaries), p.25.

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77. *Catuḥslokibhāṣya*, p.12.

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82. *Periyatirumuḍiyaḍaivu*, pp.32-33.

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CHAPTER VII

ŚAIVISM

In the field of Śaivism several works were produced. Tamil Nadu witnessed the growth and spread of Śaivism. Sankara refers to Māheśvaras, the worshippers of Paśupati *(Br.*II.2.37). who were associated with Kāñcī and Cidambaram.

The contribution of Nāyanmārs to this field who spread the Bhakti cult was immense. While a few wrote on religious themes some others combined in their songs both religion and philosophy. The main work *Tēvāram* set to particular pans or *rāgas* as also to proper rhythms was not only important from religious point of view but also contains many details on temples, festivals and various facts associated with them. Hence these Nāyanmārs' service to the Bhakti cult was immense. The kings were also great patrons of Saivism. A few of them, though they were Jains, still by the influence of these Nāyanmārs as also by divine grace got converted to Śaivism. The inscriptions too refer to these facts of the support of kings to Śaivism. Not only Śaivism but also the different cults that developed in them were prevalent in Tamil Nadu. We come across references to it by Śankara and Rāmānuja. They refer to the Śaivas, Pāśupatas, Kāruṇikasiddhāntins, Kāpālikas and Māheśvaras.

Śrīkaṇṭha[1] who lived during the llth cent. A.D. and wrote the *Brahma sūtrabhāṣya*, was probably a contemporary of Rāmānuja. He is said to be associated with a place Tirumullaivāsal in Tamil Nadu. He had great interest in *Daharavidyā*, closely associated with Cidambaram. He tried to bring together the two systems, the *Vedas* and the *Āgamas*. He accepted the three categories *Paśu, Pati* and *Pāśa* (soul, matter and supremacy of Śiva). There are some differences and common ideas and concepts between Śrīkaṇṭha and Rāmānuja. Śaiva Siddhānta followers accept the all-pervading nature of soul. Rāmānuja considers the soul as atomic. *Śarīra Śariri bhāva* is accepted by both.

Haradatta was another famous scholar of South India who contributed to the field of *gṛhya*, grammar and Śaivism. He was the son of Rudrakumāra and

Śrī, younger brother of Agnikumāra and student of Aparājita. He lived during C.1110 A.D. From the several references made in his works his nativity of Tamil Nadu is understood. In *Gautamadharmasūtra* Coladeśācāra is mentioned (14.14). In his commentary on *Āpastamba Dharma sūtra* again (**.23.7) Coladesa is referred to as also women of the Draviḍa country worshipping Sun in Meṣa (II.29.16). The word *Marul* and *Temal* is used in the *Gautama Dharma sūtra* (1.15 and 15.18). The introductory verse to *Padamañjari* also attests the fact that he is a southerner.

yaścirāya haradattasamjñayā
viśruto daśasu dikṣu dakṣiṇaḥ

Haradatta's devotion to Śiva and his leanings towards Śaivism is clearly evident from his works. In all these works obeisance to Śiva is made. These verses offer salutations to Śiva as *namo Rudrāya* or embody Śaiva doctrinal idea. The following verse from his *Padamañjarī* reveals his skill in the art of poesy.

tarkastanīm sarasakāvyakalādharoṣṭhim
trayyanta kuntalabharām itihāsahāsām
pāṇi bhavat prabala pāṇihi sūtramālām
vāṇīm bhaje nigama bāhyamanaḥ kṛpina.

Umāpati Śivācārya was born in a Dīkśitar family at Cidambaram. Though he belonged to the Tillai Māvāyiram Vedic tradition, still he took to Śaivaite initiation from Maraijñānasambandhar. He became renowned in the Śaivasiddhānta and Āgamic tradition. He is regarded as a Santānācārya of the *Tirukkayilaya paramparai.* Though the time of his activities are not given, from his Tamil work *Saṅkalpanirākaraṇa* we can say that he flourished in the 14th cent. A.D. as the date of composition of this Tamil treatise is given as 1313 A.D. His traditional life history is given in *Pārthavanamāhātmya* and *Rājendrapuramāhātmya.*

He wrote eleven works in Tamil of which the dates of three are given as A.D. 1310, 1312 and 1313. His major contribution is the commentary *Bhāṣya* on *Pauṣkara āgama* (*Jñānapada*). This is in six *paṭalas* and deals with *Pati, Bindu, Māyā, Paśu, Pāśa, Pumstattva, Pramāṇa and Tantrāvatāra.*[2] *Śataratnasaṅgraha,*[3] a compilation in 100 verses, contains one hundred important citations from well-known *āgamas*, like *Svāyambhuva, Kiraṇa* and *Devikalottara. Kuñcitāṅghristava* or *Laghusahasrastuti* is a hymn in 315 verses. This deals with the myths and the mysterious nature of Cidambaram.[4] He wrote also *stotras* on Lord Naṭarāja, *Naṭarājadaṇḍaka, Naṭarājasahasranāma, Naṭarājadhvanimantrastava,*

Yantravidhimātṛkā etc. On Gaṇapati, at Cidambaram, installed on the Western Gopuram, he wrote *Kalpaka Gaṇeśa Pañcaratnastava.*[5] *Patañjalicarita* on the worship and festivities at Cidambaram and commentaries on *Śrī Rudram, Camaka, Vāyu* and other *Saṁhitas* written by him are known only through traditional accounts.[6] *Siddhāntasūtravṛtti* is on the 12 sūtras supposed to be part of *Rauravāgama* expounding Śaivasiddhānta. These sūtras are considered to be the Sanskrit rendering of the 12 Tamil sūtras attributed to Meykaṇḍadeva (12th cent.) of Tiruvennainallūr. There is a commentary on this by Śivacāryayogin, disciple of Viśveśvara Śivācārya, who is posterior to Nīlakaṇṭhaśivācarya. He is a Vaidika Śaiva well-versed in Vedas and Āgamas. He is referred to as

nigamāgama pārāvāra-pāriṇavaidikaśaiva-siddhānta-sthāpanācārya.[6a]

An analysis of this work gives the following facts:

(1) Śiva: logical proof of his power as the creator and the definition of the term.

(2) *Māyā* and *Karma* which leads to the creation of the Universe and the result of the individual's action, past and present.

(3) Definition of soul and logical arguments to prove its existence.

(4) God's power of concealment.

(5) God as the power embedded in the Universe, his capacity to guide and protect the souls.

(6) Discussion about the sentient and non-sentient objects of the world.

(7) Lord's grace, the benefits of the study of scripture, etc.

(8) Self-surrender to the Lord leading to the annihilation of the efforts of *karma*.

(9) The things leading to self-purification are devotion, contemplation, rituals and service. Explanation of these. Such acts lead to salvation.

Sarvātmāśambhudeva (15th cent. A.D.) wrote *Śaivasiddhāntapradipikā.* This work deals with the nature of *pati*, the *tattvas*, the *pāśas* and *dīkṣā*. The means for release are also expounded. The different theistic and atheistic systems are dealt with briefly as also Śaivasiddhāntaśāstra. This work is based upon *Siddhāntaśāstra*, which consists of 28 treatises divided into ten of *Śivabheda* and eighteen of *Rudrabheda*. The text forms the basis for all works in Śaiva Siddhānta.

Nigamajñāśambhu[7] (deva) who was born probably in Śaka 1486-1564 A.D. was a pupil of Nigamajñāna Śivayogin of Cidambaram. He wrote three works: *Śaivakālaviveka* on auspicious times for rituals,[8] *Śaivaparibhāṣāmañjarī*[9] and a commentary *Śivajñānabodhapañjara* on *Śāivajñānabodha*.[10] It was composed at the request of Sundaranātha.

Ātmārthapūjāpaddhati,[11] a treatise on ritualstic worship, in seclusion, of a personal God is ascribed to Maraijñānadeśika who lived during the 16th cent. A.D.

Śivāgrayogin who was known as Gñānaśivācārya before *dikṣā*, one of the prominent figures in the field of Śaivasiddhānta, was well-versed in both Tamil and Sanskrit. He wrote a number of books on Śaivasiddhānta either as commentaries or independent treatises. He belonged to Sūryanārkoil Ādhīnam in Tamil Nadu. His spiritual preceptor was Śrī Śivakoḻundu Śivācārya. He became the spiritual head of the Ādhīnam after his preceptor. He holds a high place among the Śaiva Siddhāntins.

Śivāgrayogin wrote a commentary in Maṇipravala on Aruḷnandi's *Śivajñāna Siddhiyār*. On *Sarvajñānottara*, *Devīkālottara* and *Śrutisūktimālā* commentaries in Tamil were composed by him. On Saiva Siddhānta he produced an independent work, *Śivaneṟiprakāśam*. He was also the author of commentaries in Sanskrit on *Śivajñānabodha*, *Śivajñānabodha saṅgrahavyākhya*, short one and *Śivāgrabhāṣya*, a bigger one. *Śaiva sannyāsapaddhati*, *Kriyā-dīpikā* and *Śaiva-paribhāṣā* all in Sanskrit, were his works.

Śaiva-paribhāṣā, an important treatise on Śaiva Siddhānta is in five chapters. This work is a commentary on the 12 sūtras of *Śivajñānabodha* of Meikaṇḍār. The interpretation is based upon the *Jñānapāda* of *Āgamas*, especially Pauṣkara and Mṛgendra. Śiva is considered both as the efficient and material cause of the Universe. His work shows influence or traces of *advaita*. The contents are: chapter one on Śaiva Siddhānta logic and epistemology; chapter two deal with Pati and three Paśu, the chapter four on *Pāśa* and the chapter five on *Mokṣa* according to Saiva Siddhānta and means for obtaining the same. A number of authorities from *Āgamas* especially from the *Pauṣkara* are quoted by him for establishing the views of Śaiva Siddhāntin.

Gaṇapati Bhaṭṭa[12] (16th cent. A.D.) wrote a commentary on *Śaivakālaviveka* of Nigamajñānaśambhu, and two other works *Dīkṣāmaṇḍalapaddhati* and *Snapanapaddhati*, both on rituals.

Appayya Dīkṣita's contribution to the various fields of Sanskrit literature was in no small measure. He was open hearted and his works reveal his broad

outlook on various systems of Religion and Philosophy; but by birth and nature he had great leanings towards Śaivism. He was an expositor of *Śivādvaita* of Śrīkaṇṭha. *Śivarahasya* refers to him that he will spread the forgotten Śaivaśāstra:

śaivaśāstram tadā bhūmau luptam vistārayiṣyati

Nīlakaṅtha Dīksīta speaks of him thus:

śrīkaṇṭhacaraṇāsakta and *śrīkaṇṭhamatapratiṣṭhāpanācārya.*

His writings are as follows :

1. *Śivakarṇāmṛta*
2. *Sikharinīmālā*
3. *Śivatattvaviveka*
4. *Rāmāyaṇatātparyasangraha*
5. *Bhāratatātparyasangrahā*
6. *Brahmatarkastava*
7. *Ratnatrayaparīksā*
8. *Śivārcanacandrikā*
9. *Śivadhyānapaddhati*
10. *Śivamahimakalikāstuti*
11. *Śivapūjavidhi*
12. *Śivādvaitanirṇaya*
13. *Ānandalahari*
14. *Śivārkamaṇidipikā.*

In a verse from *Laukikaratnākara* of Raghunāthavarma we have a clear idea of his views on religion and why he particularly tried to establish Śaivism.

viśnur vā śaṅkaro vā śrutiśikharagirāmastu tātparyabhūmi
na asmākam tatra vādaḥ prasarati kimapi spaṣṭamadvaitabhājām
kintu īśadveṣa gāḍhānala kalitahṛdām durmatīnām duruktīḥ
bhaṅgtum yatno mamāyam nahi bhavatu tato viśṇu vidveṣaśaṅkā.

Thus he gives the reason for opposing sectarian bigotry.

Śivārkamaṇidīpika, a commentary on *Śrīkaṇṭhabhāṣya* formed the main source for southern Śaivism. Appayya Dīkṣita was bathed in gold by King Cinna Bomma on the completion of this work. A synthesis is brought out between Hari, Hara and Gauri, the three gems in *Ratnatrayaparīkṣā*. In the concluding verse of this work he says thus:

āmathya bhāṣyadugdābder āptaṁ ratnatrayam tataḥ
śambhurgaurīharaśceti tacca samyak parīkṣitam.

Iśavilāsa by Āppayya Dīkṣita[13] is referred to in the Adyar Catalogue.[14] This work is a reply to Vaiṣṇavas who condemn Śaivism.

The following are the topics found in this work:

1) Śiva as Brahman and his connection with Hari
2) Explanation of Śiva legends
3) Refutation of *Śivapurāṇa* as *Tāmasa*
4) Śaivism as a *vaidika* system and Vaiṣṇavism as *avaidika*
5) Criticism of *prapatti*
6) Śiva as import of *Puruṣasūkta*
7) *Śaivāgamaprāmāṇya* and *Pāñcarātra aprāmāṇya*
8) *Jīveśa sṛṣṭi-vijaya*
9) *Sṛṣṭi-sthiti* etc., by Śiva
10) *Pāśupataśirovrata*
11) *Śivanindāprāyaścitta*
12) *Gāyatrīśivaparattva*
13) *Harihara aikya*

In this work, the author quotes Haradatta, *Caturvedatātparyasaṅgraha*, Śaṅkara, Śrīkaṇṭha, Sureśvara, Vācaspati Miśra's Commentary on *Sāṅkhyakārika-s*, *Ātmatattvaviveka* and Ahobala Dīkṣita, Gadādharopadhyaya also Purāṇas, Rāmānuja and *Mahābhārata*.

Gurujñānasambandha,[14] was the first head of Dharmāpuram Maṭh. To him is attributed *Muktiviniścaya*, a Tamil work, with commentary by Velliambala Tambirān (17th cent. A.D.). This work analyses Ātmānandavādi, Śivasainvādi and other philosophical schools and refutes their views. He is credited with a Tamil translation of *Vidyāpāda* of *Mṛgendrāgama*. The commentary contains profuse quotations from several Śaivāgamas.

Pañcākṣaraguru who lived in the 17th cent. A.D. wrote *Śaivabhūṣaṇa*.[14a]

Pañcaratna[15] a tract on Śaivism was by Subrahmaṇya of Śrīvatsagotra. He was the pupil of Kṛṣṇānanda Sarasvatī who flourished during the last quarter of 17th cent. and beginning of 18th cent in Cola country. The author himself has written a commentary *Prakāśa* on his work.[16] He wrote a commentary *Āmodarañjanī* on *Śivatattvaratnakalikā*.[17] These two are attributed to his preceptor.

Aruṇadeva of Tiruvārūr in Tanjore District, pupil of Jñānaprakaśaśivācārya (Elder) was the author of *Prāsādacandrikā*,[18] on *mantras* that confer the grace of Śiva. He is said to have written a work on Śivayoga.[19]

A few others whose date need verification are given here. Kacchapācārya of Kāñcipuram is mentioned as the author of *Prasādadipika*.[20] But he is said to be the father of Mṛtyuñjayasūri who penned this work.[21] Gurumūrti,[22] disciple of Bodhānanda of Śrīdhara family lived at Tiruvaiyāru. He belonged to Gautamagotra. In his *Śaivatattvasāracandrikā*, he has epitomised the chief tenets of Śaivism from Saivāgamas and Puranas.[24] Another work of his is *Saivaprakāśa*.

Jñānaśivācārya,[24] a native of Sālivāti (Tirunelveli) wrote a commentary *Pauṣkaravṛtti* on *Jñānapāda* of Pauṣkarāgama.[25] Parameśvara or Jñānaśivācārya is mentioned as the author of *Kriyākramadyotikā*. He must be the same as Aghoraśiva.[26]

Trilocana Śivācārya,[27] spiritual descendant of Āmardaka maṭh established by Vyāpaka śambhu has written the following works:

(a) *Siddhāntasārāvali* based on *Mṛgendrāgama*.[28] Ātrantaśambhu wrote a commentary on this.

(b) *Sarvamatasiddhāntarahasyasāra* or *Siddhāntasamuccaya*.[29]

(c) *Dhyānaratnāvali*.[30]

(d) *Prāyaścittasamuccaya*.[31]

(e) *Ratnatrayoddyota*.[32]

Of these works *Siddhāntasārāvali* contains four pādas. A brief account of the contents of this work is as follows:

(l) *Jñānapāda* deals with philosophical basis of Śaiva siddhānta doctrines. Śiva is referred to as the creator of the Universe with *Śakti* as instrument and *Nāda* as material. The souls are said to be of three kinds viz., *Sakala*, *Pralayakala* and *Vijñānakala*. The way to spiritual maturity and connection with these souls are dealt with. Here *āṇva*, *māyā* and *karma*, the three bonds act upon the souls and how these bonds are broken by divine grace is explained.

(2) *Kriyāpāda* expounds the various constituents of *dīkṣā* like *Agnikārya*, *Kalānyāsa*, *Samaya*, *Viśeśa Nirvāṇa Dīkṣā* and others.

(3) *Yogapāda* gives in detail the meditation practices on Paramaśiva in the lotus-seats, are cakras in the body, from *Nābhi* to Dvādaśānta.

(4) The last *pāda, carya*, gives an account of the modes of worship of Śiva and *Śivaliṅgapratiṣṭhā.*

Jñānaśiva[33] of Golakimaṭha, fifth descendant from Trilocana Śivācārya has written the following two works. *Jñānaratnāvali*, a voluminous work in 7000 *granthas.* This is based on *Vātūlatantra* and mentioned by Vedajñāna in his *Ātmārthapūjapāddhati* and in a commentary on *Śivapūjāstotra.*[34] Another important work by him is *Sivapūjāstava* or *Pūjāstavatāntra.*[35]

Pañcākṣaraguru of Kaśyapakula wrote *Baudhāyana Karmaprakāśikā.*[36]

Śivayogapradīpikā by Sadāśivayogīndra, probably a Vīraśaiva, deals with several steps of yoga with particular reference to Śivayoga leading to Śivabhoga.

svātmanyeva sadāṣṭāṅgaih pūjayet śivam avyayam.
śaivaḥ sa eva vidvāmśca sa ca yogavidām varaḥ[37]

Sarvātma Śambhu Śivācārya, probably belonged to the line of Somaśambhu, Jñānaśambhu and others. In seven *Prakaraṇas*, his *Siddhāntaprakāśika*,[38] a basic work on Śaiva Siddhānta deals with the following topics:

(1) *Dehaprakaraṇa* is on *Sthūladeha* made up of the five elements and the *Sūkṣmadeha* built up of 36 principles or categories i.e., from earth to Kāla.

(2) *Tattva*: The designation and the activities of the principles which produce these bodies.

(3) *Adhva* is on the attainment of the holy feet of Śiva. These are *Tattvadhva, Bhuvana, Varṇa, Pada, Mantra* and *Kāla.*

(4) *Ātma* is the self bound by *adhvas.*

(5) This self enjoys the fruits of its actions. This self differentiates into *Sakala, Pralayakala* and *Vijñānakala.*

(6) *Bandha:* Bondage is explained. There are different varieties of *bandha* viz., *Māyā, Karma, Śuddhamārga* and *Tirodhaśakti.*

(7) *Śāstra*: The main source for knowledge leading to *Ātma* are the *Śāstras.* These are as follows: *Laukika* (worldly) *Vaidika* (related to Veda), *Ādhyatmika* (Philosophical), *Atimārga* (works of the Rudras) and *Mantras* (Śaivāgamas spoken by Śiva).

(8) *Dīksā* varieties are *Samaya, Viśeṣa, Nirvāṇa, Nirbīja* and *Sabīja.*

Prāsādaṣaṭśloki[39] is another important work which deals with Sādhana for reaching Śiva. The term *Prāsāda* is explained thus:

uparyupari gamanasādhanatvāt asya prāsādaśabdena vyavaharaḥ

The *sādhana* is the leading step by step to divine grace. Hence it is called *prāsāda.*

Prāsāda means, how one by various paths, should reach *Ṣaḍādhārapadma* with the help of *Kuṇḍalinī* so that he should know what should be known, as also where one should take rest in such an effort. In short it is only a variety of *Haṁsavidyā.* Another interesting work is *Nārāyaṇārthalaharī* [40] which interprets the name Nārāyaṇa to mean Śiva.. This is by one Śrīnivāsa who appears to have written *Śaivārthalaharī.* A Jñānaprakāśa belonging to Tirunelveli wrote *Śivayogaratna.*[41]

śrī śālivāṭipuranivāsi. jñānaprakāśācārya varyeṇa śivabhavanā pāṭhaka śivabhāvanāphala sākṣātkarapāṭhakasārthabodhakagrantha. granthasaṅgraha kriyate.

The author refers to the following *Santāna Kuravars paramparā.* Nirambavaḷagiyar, Maraijñānadeśikar, Śivāgrayogin, Jñānaprakāśa, Śivajñānayogin, Subrahmaṇya Dēśika.

This work is in two sections, the first part is in verse with 192 verses and the second part in prose.

anādinidanam ajam purāṇam guhāśayan niṣkalam aprapañcam /
nirañjana niṣpratimam nirṣam adṛśyam agrāhyam acintyam / (verse 52)

sanātanam Brahma nirantaram yat pade pade so' ahram iti prapaśyet/
yo bhāvatas tiṣṭhati niṣprakampas sa brahmarūpo amṛtatām upaiti / (verse 50)

Śiveti cintam vā api śivayogam prakīrtitam /
Sivasya darśam jñānam yogas tatraikacittatā / (verse 64)
dhyānam samādhirekāgrā stimitodadhi nirmalā
dhyānotkṛṣṭa parāvasthā samādhiriti yate ./ (verse 66)

Necessity for identifying oneself in Śiva.

tatpadam tu śikāraśea vakāram tvam padam bhavet /
asi śabdo yakāraśca mahāvākya svarūpakam
ekavārtā parākāntā yāvat tvartha śivātmikā / (*Śivayogaratna p.70.*)

In this work details about yogic practices, mainly breath control, discussion on the real nature of God and how to realise him, as also the import of the Mahāvākya *Tattvamasi* are expounded in detail.

A few other noteworthy works are on the lives of Śaiva saints. Of these *Śivabhaktamāhātmya* [42] is from *Bhaviṣyottarapurāṇa*. The contents of this are as follows:

Adhyāyas:

1	Sundareśvaramāhātmya
2	Manucakravartikathānaka
3-15	Sundaranāthacarita
18	Kṣuranāthacarita
19-20	Sureśvaracarita
21-22	Tillavanacarita
23	Nīlakaṇṭhamāhātmya
24	Svabhāvaripucarita (Iyarpagai)
25	Ilānandakuṭimāra
26	Satyārthanātha
27	Vīrodbhavacarita
28-29	Amarnīticaritakathā
30	Enādinātha
31-33	Netrārpakacarita (Kaṇṇappar)
34	Guggulukathānāthacarita (Kungiliyakkalayar)
35	Kañjanādiśacarita
36	Śakuntalarāyakathana
37	Gonātha
38-39	Mūrtinātha
40	Paśupati

TD. Ms.10059 contains three stories: *Haradattacarita*, *Sambandha* and *Nīlakaṇṭhagāyaka*.

Treatises on the life history of Śaivite saints and Nāyanmārs.

1. *Śivabhaktavilāsaka*[43] from *Skandapurāṇa*. These are two versions of this text.

   (a) One is by Haradatta.[44] It is said that this version is according to the exposition of sage Agastya. This is in 79 adhyāyas.

   (b) Another one is by Upamanyu.[45] This is in 103 adhyāyas.

Beginning with an eulogy on the devotees of Śiva it deals elaborately with the life history of Sundareśvara. The stories of several Nāyanmārs and Śaivite devotees are given in the narration. Manunīticola's story in Ch.13 is linked with Sundaramūrti's story and Tyāgarāja's greatness. Viṣṇu getting rid of the curse, Indra and Mucukunda's story and others are given here. The following stories of the other Nāyanmārs are given:

1	On the greatness of devotion to Śiva
2	Praśnavidhi
3	Paraśiva divyarūpāviṣkara
4	Sundara receiving Hālāhala
5	Curse on Sundara
6	Marriage preparation of Sundara
7	Sundara and the old man-conflict
8	The old man showing the palm leaf that Sundara is bound to serve him
9	Sundara reaching Kamalālaya
10	Viṣṇu under the power of Brūṇahatti
11	Indra worshipping Somāskanda
12	Mucukunda story
13	Manunīticola
14-17	Sundara's story
18-19	Tirunīlakaṇṭha
20	Mārā
22	Viranminḍa

23	Amaranīti
25	Enādi
26-29	Dhīra (Kaṇṇappa)
39	Caṇḍīśvara
40	Tilakavatī
42-43	Vāgīśa (Tirunāvukkaraśar)
45	Kumbha
46	Punitavatī
57	Jñānasambandha
61	Kalikāma
65-66	Somayāji Māra (Somāsi māṟa)
70-72	Dabhrabhakta

Dabhracarita or Śiruttoṇḍar's story is separately given from two Purāṇas. They are one from *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*[46] and another from *Skandapurāṇa*.[47] Thus we find adaptations of the *Periyapurāṇam*.

Jñānanadaparibhāṣā is a treatise on Śaivism quoted in *Māpāṭiyam*.[48] This work is available only in quotations and the extent and nature of it can be ascertained from the extensive quotations made in *Māpāṭiyam* and deals with these aspects of Śaivism: *Caryā, Caryākriyā, Caryāyoga, Caryājñāna, Kriyācaryā, Kriyākriyā, Kriyāyoga, Kriyājñana* and also *Abhāva, Arthāpatti, Upamāna* and other *Prāmāṇas*. Though not available fully, thiṣ work is an important work both from the Śaivism point of view and epistemology.

Notes and References

1. *FISC*. I. i. p.427.
2. In Grantha script. Chidambaram, 1925.
3. a) Saraswati Mahal Library, Tanjore, 1976.
   b) With English translation, University of Madras 1973. In the App. a Tamil verse rendering *Satamaṇimālai* is printed.
4. Ed. by M. Rajaganesa Dikshitar with Tamil meaning, Chidambaram, 1958.

5. *Kuñcitānghristava*, pp. l-iv.
6. For further details on author and his works see *Sri Umāpati Śivācārya. His Life, Works and Contribution to Saivism.* K.S.R.Institute, Chennai, 1996.
6a. *FISC* Col. 7 i. pp.431 ff
7. Ibid. p.432
7a. NCC. X.ll2a-b. FISC. I. i. 430.
8. Sivāgama Sangha Prakāsita Grant Sankhya 18. Devakottai, 1934.
9. Adyar D. X.894. Extr. pp. 536-8.
10. Hz.1072. Extr. p.103. MT.621(a).
11. *FISC.* I. i.431. Hz.1096, p.105. Trav.Uni.3841, 9019 T. 1154.
12. *FISC.* I.i.430.
13. NCC.I. Revised edn. p.262a.
14. Adyar II. p.175(a) (2 mss.).
15. *FISC.*I.i.p.429.
16. Ibid. p.430.
17. *JTSML TMSSM.* XI.i.1-8, 1956.
18. Adyar D.X.821. Extr. p.514. TD.7552.
19. Śivajñānabodha Yantrasala. Madras, 1928.
See also NCC. I. Revised edn. p.374. Cf. TD. 15386.
20. *FISCI.* I.i. p.431.
21. Ibid.
22. NCC. IIII. p.118a.
23. *FISC.* I. i. p.434-38. NCC. VI. 78b.
24. MT. 3664.
25. NCC. VI. 338b.
26. IO.6143.
27. NCC. I. Revised edn. p.58 ff. VII. p.338b.

28. *FISC*.I.i.p.433. NCC. VIII. 262.
29. Adyar D.X.906. Extr. pp.541-42. MT.3854. Kasinath Granthamala 7, Mysore, 1930.
30. MT.6635'd).7145.
31. Trav. Uni. 2881.
32. Viśvabhārati 2152.
33. Taylor, I. p.461.
34. NCC. VII. p.338b.
35. Ibid. p.334b. (Hz.II. p.106. Adyar D.IV. 1124. Extr. p.184).
36. Adyar D.IV.1124. 1125. Extr. pp. 184-85.
37. Hz.762. Extr. p.75. See NCC. III. p.201b. XI. 64a.
38. *FISC*. I. i. 433 (II.8).
39. JTSML. 33. Text 1-14. Eng. Intro. I.iv. Transl. Tamil by Madhava Śivajñānasvami. Published from Madras and Srilanka.
40. Ed. Alagappa Mudaliar. Śivajñānabodha Press, Madras, 1928. See also JTMSSL. XXVI. 2-3. 1-12.
41. Adyar D.X. 820. Extr. p.513.
42. French Inst. of Indology. 53. Ed. Tara Michael, Pondicherry, 1975. Cf. *Śivabhāvanāvidhi*, Adyar Ms.
43. TD. 10057 (inc.). 10058 (1-41 adhys Pūrvabhāga). 10059 (Uttarabhāga), 10060 (inc.).
44. In Grantha script. S. Raja Sastri, Vanibhusanam Press, Triplicane, Madras, 1907.
45. Ed. Karungulam Krishna Sastrigal. MLJ Press, 1931.
46. TD. 10482.
47. Ibid. 13355.
48. Jñānāvaraṇavilakkam Māpāḍiyam Dharumapuram Adhīnam 367, 1957.

CHAPTER VIII

ĀGAMAS

A brief account of the Āgamas adapted for religious purposes in Tamil Nadu is given in this section. There is no clear evidence that a few of the works might have been written in this region; but we find that these *āgamas* were adopted for construction of temples and the performance of festivals. The cave-temple of Māmallapuram as also the laying out of the village Uttaramerūr were all done according to *Vāstu śāstra*.[1] Many of these texts were used as books which prescribe rules for temple construction, organising festivals as also for other religious and ritualistic purposes.

Activities like building of a temple for worship led to the growth of the *āgama* branch of literature. People either in the villages or cities, started worhsipping various gods with specified forms. This necessitated carving of images and have them properly installed in a sanctified place. So temple building became necessary and for these rules and definitions of various types of temples were given in these texts. These texts were known as *āgamas* and *saṁhitas* and abstracts of these texts were known as *paddhatis*. A class of priests were appointed, after proper initiation, for performing the worhsip of the deities. They were known as *arcakas* in general and *Bhaṭṭācāryas* and *Śivācāryas* in particular as associated with Viṣṇu temples or Śiva temples.

These *āgamas* are broadly classified as *Vaiṣṇava*, *Śaiva* and *Śākta*. Śākta āgamas mostly belong to the Tāntric system. Vaiṣṇava *āgamas* are again classified as Vaikhānasa and Pāñcarātra. There was a view that the *āgamas* were opposed to the Vedas. But Yāmuna, the great Vaiṣṇavite scholar and Vedānta Deśika in his *Pāncarātrarakṣā* have proved that this view is not correct and established the validity of the *Pāñcarātra āgamas*.[2]

Bṛhadbrahmasaṁhitā,[3] Vaiṣṇavite *āgama* (*āgamas* are also called *saṁhitās*), says about the prevalence of devotees in the Draviḍa region.

drāviḍeṣu janim labdhvā mad dharmoyatra tiṣṭhate /
prāyo bhaktā bhavantīha mama pādāmbusevanāt //

This verse clearly shows that devotion to God was widely prevalent in Tamil Nadu as they are born in Draviḍa Country and people became more devoted by sipping the holy water (of the Ganges) flowing from my feet.

Though there is a view that many of these *āgamas* were composed in North India, references to the architectural structure and the ritual practices in the South Indian temples show their prevalance or usage or even being composed in Tamil Nadu.[4]

The reference in *Upendrasaṁhita* to the fact that leading a virtuous life at Śrirangam leads to spiritual benefits probably shows that this *āgama* was composed in Tamil Nadu.

In most of the Temples in South, like Parthasarathy Temple in Triplicane, Tirunārayaṇa Temple at Melkote, Śri Raṅganātha at Śrirangam, and Varadarāja of Kāñci and many others the *Pāñcarātra āgama* is followed. The *Vaikhānasa āgama* is followed in Tirupati, Oppiliappan Kovil and Tiruvahindrapuram.

Herein a brief account of the special features of the *Śrīpraśna saṁhitā*[5] is given as it is an *āgama* text in which several features of Temple architecture and worship as prevalent in Tamil Nadu are found. The *saṁhitā* does not contain the four divisions as *Gñāna*, *Yoga*, *Kriyā* and *Caryā*. In all there are 53 chapters in it covering all the subjects related to *āgamas*. In the introduction to this text V.Raghavan has pointed out some interesting features of this *saṁhitā*. A few points are given here.

The name of a particular type of Vimāna or Gopuram, *somacchanda*[6] is mentioned:

somacchanda vyoma yānam śṛṅgatraya virājitam.

This type of *vimāna* is mentioned by the great musician Sri Muttusvāmi Dīkṣitar in one of his songs:

somacchanda - vimānastham.[7]

Two festivals referred to in this *saṁhitā* are the *Gaṅgāvataraṇa*[8] and the *Kṛṣṇajayanti*. In the month of Kaṭaka (Āḍi) the Gaṅgāvataraṇa is celebrated. This is the same as the *Āḍipperukku*. The deity is taken to the river side and worshipped there.

Another important festival is the *Kṛṣṇajayanti* which is referred to in this *saṁhitā*. The offering of *murukku*,[9] a snack prepared with rice flour and which is a speciality of this region is mentioned. On this day two other martial sports, the *Uriyaṭi* (Śikyotsava) and *vaḷukkumaram*, form part of the festival. These

two games also are mentioned in this saṁhitā. A few other festivals referred to in this *saṁhitā* are the *Ḍolotsava* (swing festival), the *Plavotsava*[10] (floating festival) and also the *Brahmotsava saṁhita.*

Music and dance formed an integral part during the flag hoisting ceremony of the festivals. Both Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva *āgamas* refer to this. A hall for performing dance is referred to in the *Śrīpraśna.*

agre ardhamaṇḍapāt kuryāt ṉṛtta maṇḍapanāmakam (X.3)

Śripraśna saṁhitā gives a detailed account of the ceremonies to be performed at the flag hoisting function of a festival. In the thirty - fourth chapter of this *saṁhitā* references are made to the *tāla, svara, rāga* and *nṛtta* to be adapted for the different deities who are invoked and invited for the safe conduct of the festival. For example for the worship of Indra, the *sama tāla* is used, *nāṭa rāga* is sung, the *pañcama* svara is used and the dance form is *vilāsa.*

sacīpate jitārāte vajrapāṇe purandara
lakṣmīśotsava sevārtham āgaccha amaranāyaka
sama tālo nāṭa rāgaḥ svaraḥ pañcama nāyakaḥ
nṛttam vilāsam ityuktam purandara manaḥ priyam
(XXXIV.122-23)

The description of *nāṭa rāga* is thus :

keṭaka kṛpāṇa pāṇiḥ pratarjayan vairiṇo' 'ruṇadṛk /
haritālābho hāri hayacārī dhīra dhīḥ nāṭaḥ //

Indra is said to be a gay person, beautiful to look at, a warrior, riding a horse. This description of the *rāga* is also alike. Hence the aptness of using the melody. The *āgamas* thus help us in understanding the cultural activities carried on in the temple.

Apart from these, plays were also enacted during festivals in the temples. The *Sitānanda* of Tātadeśika was staged during the Caitra festival at Kumbhakonam, the *Kandarpadarpaṇabhāṇa* at the Caitra festival at Śrirangām.

The two important Śaiva *āgamas* that were followed in Tamil Nadu are the *Kāmikāgama* and the *Kāraṇāgama.* Tirumūlar in his *Tirumantiram* (5th cent. A.D.)., first speaks about the greatness of the *Vedas* and then refers to the twenty eight *āgamas.* He says that he obtained from his Preceptor, Nandi, nine out of the twenty-eight āgamas. (vv62.63). These are the *Kāmika, Kāraṇa, Cintya, Vātūla, Yāmala, Kālottara, Suprabheda* and the *Makuṭa.*

Two other important Śaivites who contributed to the field of *āgamas*, in Tamil Nadu, are Aghoraśivācārya and Umāpati Śiva. Aghora wrote *Kriyākramadyotikā* in the 12th century. Umāpati Śivācārya who hailed from Cidambaram, wrote a commentary on *Pauṣkarasaṁhitā*. All these *āgamas* are divided into four sections viz: *Jñāna*, *Yoga*, *Kriyā* and *Caryā*. These *āgamas* deal with the creation of the Universe, Śaivite concepts, Śiva's role, *dīkṣā*, *prāsāda mantrās*, temple rituals, festivals and other details. The *Kāmika āgama*, mentioned above must have been composed in Tamil Nādu.

Besides these several other tracts have defined specific forms of the deities and local legends of holy shrines also have influenced the forms of a few Gods. There are different forms of Gaṇeśa as Bāla Gaṇeśa, Ucchiṣṭa Gaṇapati, Heramba Gaṇapati etc. Heramba Gaṇapati has five faces four facing the four directions and the fifth facing upwards. He is represented as seated on a lion. *Śrītattvanidhi* and *Śilparatna* give the description of this form. Such forms of Gaṇeśa are found in several temples of South India.

Śiva's sculptural representation in *Urdhvatāṇḍava* pose or dancing with the left leg lifted up are all well known. He is represented as wearing an elephant skin also. In this form he is known as *Gajasaṁhāra mūrti*. Such a form is influenced by the anecdote connected with the shrine Vaḻuvūr or Cyutapuri. At Vaḻuvūr Śiva is said to have killed Gajāsura and wore its skin.

Mahotsavavidhi[11] forming part of Aghoraśivācārya's *Kriyākramadyotikā* gives six varieties of festivals.

(1)	Paitṛka	(12 days)	(4)	Pārthiva	(5 days)
(2)	Saukhya	(9 days)	(5)	Sāttvika	(3 days)
(3)	Śrīkara	(7 days)	(6)	Śaiva	(1 day)

Pavitrotsava[12] is an important festival performed both in Śiva and Viṣṇu temples. This is performed in the months of *āḍi*, *āvaṇi* and *puraṭṭāci*, if there are no faults in these months. This is an expiation festival which removes the faults done during daily worhsip as also during festivals.

Śaivāgamas, *Kāraṇāgama Mahotsavapaṭala* (141. 81-83) and *Aṁśumadāgama* (745. pp. 190-92) refer to the festival done in honour of (Tiru) Jñānasambandha. Tirujñānasambandha in his *Tevāram* refers to the different festivals held in Kapālīśwarar temple at Mylapore (II. 47).

Music and musical instruments had an important role in the worhsip done in temples or festivals. *Mayamata* (23.87) refers to a place for these instruments.

Rauravāgama mentions that the *bheri* (kettledrum) is to be worhshipped and played during festivals. In the same text it is referred that *śuddhanṛtta* is to be performed. *Śaivāgama paribhāṣāmañjari* of Vedajñāna also mentions that the Ajita refers to the four types of instruments and Kāmika to dancer, drum player, musician and flutist.

Besides these the importance of music and dance in temple rituals is stressed in *Suprabhedāgama*. This āgama says that a country attains welfare by the performance of dance in front of the deities.

evam nṛttam kṛtam yatra subhikṣam lokaśāntikam /
durnimittāni naśyanti kṣetram ārodhakam nṛṇām //

Somaśambhupaddhati, while describing the *pavitrāropaṇa* ceremony says, it is incumbent that music is to be played along with the recitation of *mantras*.

ācānto mantrasannaddhaḥ kṛtasaṅgītajāgaraḥ

Vātūlāgama mentions the *aṣṭādaśavādyas* (eighteen instruments.): *Bherī*, *Mṛdaṅga*, *Maddala*, *Tāḷa*, *Kāhala*, *Dundubhi*, *Tūrya*, *Tumburu*, *Viṇā*, *Veṇu*, *Nūpura*, *Maḍḍuka*, *Diṇḍima*, *Ḍamaruka*, *Dhavala*, *Śabda*, *Paṇava*, and *Paṭaha*.

A few āgamas refer to different forms of dance. *Kāraṇāgama* refers to the *Kālikā* or *Muni Tāṇḍava*, *Sandhyā Tāṇḍava* and *Pradoṣa nartana*. The *Gaurī Tāṇḍava* or *Bhujaṅga Trāsa* (a Karaṇa ?) is mentiond in *Kāmikāgama*.

The Śaiva āgamas also mention another form of dance done during the flag-hoisting ceremony before the festival. This is called as *Navasandhi Kauttuva* also known as *Navasandhi* or *Brahmatālavidhi*. In this Brahma and the eight Cardinal deities are worhshipped with vedic hymns, śinging of *Tēvāram*, playing on the *Nādasvaram*, the drum and Cymbals.

Notes and References

1. *FISC*. I.i. 424-5.
2. See *FISC* I.i. pp.450-5l.
   Cf. *Mahābhārata*. *Śānti*. 335. v. 28
   tair ekamatibhirbhūtvā yat proktam śāstram uttamena /
   vedaiś caturbhiḥ sammitam kṛtam merau mahāgirau //
3. ASS.68. I. iii. 93
4. *FISC*.I.i. p.450

5. *Kendriya Skt. Vidyapitha Ser.*12. Tirupati. 1969.
6. *Sripraśna* Ch.XXIII. v.192.
7. Ibid. Intro See p.K. fn.1.
8. Ibid. 42.1., 10, 21.
9. Ibid. p.369. Ch.41. v.22
10. Ibid. See VR. Introduction pp. D. ff
11. *Mahotsavavidhi* from Aghoraśivācāryā's *Kriyākramadyotikā*, South India Archaka's Assn., Chennai, 1974.
12. South India Archaka's Assn., Chennai, 1965.

CHAPTER IX

TANTRAS

In Tamil Nadu, it appears, that Tāntricism had its hold in the form of *Lalitā* Cult and *Śrī Cakra* worship. The texts produced here mostly were related to this field. The mother Goddess worship had much influence in Tamil Nadu.

As early as the 5th century A.D. Tirumūlar, a great Siddha, wrote the *Triumantiram*,[1] which is an informative and detailed account of the worship of the Mother Goddess. Tirumūlar, after referring to the greatness of the Vedas and the Āgamas [2], describes the emanation of *Parā Śakti* from Śiva, her greatness, the various *Cakras* in which the several forms of this *Parā*[3] is worshipped and such other matters which are *Tantra* oriented.

Devī worship, in the form of *Śrī Cakra*, which forms the main-stay for *Śakti* Cult has been the subject matter of several *stotras* and treatises. This *Śakti* cult deals mainly with the greatness of the *Parāśakti* (The Supreme One). The fruit of such a worship is realising Her within one's inner self and merging in Her. This process of becoming one with the *Śakti* is achieved by specific means (*Sādhana*), the recitation of *mantras* or *bījas*, the drawing up of the geometrical symbols (*maṇḍalas*), using appropriate gestures (*mudras*); proper assignment (*nyāsa*) of these effective syllables in the body; the meditation of the deity's form (*dhyāna*); worship (*pūjā*) and initiation (*dīkṣā*).[4] These steps are all necessary and must be adhered to by the aspirant.

Regarding the literature written in this field, the texts written here dealt with an aspect of Tantric texts or more about the greatness of worshipping Goddess Lalitā or Tripurasundari with her sacred names or in the specially drawn *Cakras*, on gold or silver plates. Thus these texts were more explanatory of the power of the holy names *Parā Śakti* or the mode and efficacy of the *Cakra* worship.

According to Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya,[5] a study of the majority of Tantric texts reveal the fact, that they deal mostly with mother cult. It is also believed that *Tantras* bring about the harmony of the performance of *Karma*

(rituals) as found in the Vedas, the *Jñāna* of the Upanisads and the *Bhakti* of the *Purāṇas.*

The following verse in *Kulārṇava Tantra*[6] refers to the origin of *Tantra* from the Vedas:

mathitvā jñānamanthena vedāgama mahārṇavam
sārajñena mayā devī kuladharmaḥ samuddhṛtaḥ
(II. 10).

Thus the relationship between Tantras, Āgamas and Vedas is established.

In Tamil Nadu Śaṅkarācārya, Bhāskararāya and his disciple Umānandanātha are the three prominent figures who have contributed to the field of *Śakti* cult.

Śrī Śaṅkara in his *Vivekacūḍāmaṇi* [7] speaks about *Paraśakti* thus:

avyakta nāmni parameśaśaktir anādyavidyā triguṇātmikā parā
kāryānumeyā sudhiyaiva māyā yayā jagat sarvam idaṃ prasūyate
(v. 112)

Thus the *Parā* or the female *Sakti* had such an important position, without whose power the creation of this universe or the movement of the Gods or the beings was absolutely impossible. In *Saundaryalahari* of Śaṅkara, the very first verse says thus:

śivaḥ śaktyā yukto yadi bhavati śaktaḥ prabhavitum
na ced evam devo na khalu kuśalaḥ spanditumapi [8]

Thus the greatness of *Śakti* is prescribed and this *Śakti* cult became the *Lalitā* or *Tripurasundari* cult. Śaṅkara, the staunch *advaitin* himself wrote a *Bhāṣya* on *Lalitātriśati.*[9] These holy names were revealed by Hayagriva to Agastya and Lopāmudrā. These divine names are based upon *Bījākṣaras.* Though these names convey the general meaning, still the subtle ideas conveyed by them are brought out in this commentary. These ideas are corroborated by profuse quotations from the *Vedas* and *Smṛtis.*

Here a few sacred names of the Goddess and their interpretations are given.

(i) *Hrīmpadārādhyā* - Goddess Lalitā is to be worshipped with the single lettered mantra *Hrīm. Bhuvaneśvari kalpa* says *Hrīmkāreṇaiva saṁsiddho bhuktim muktim ca vindati* i.e. When she is worshipped with *Hrīmkāra* the devotee gets both *bhukti* (the worldly pleasures) and *mukti* (salvation).

(2) *Hrīmgarbhā* - The meaning of *Hrīm* is Brahma, Viṣṇu and Śiva who possess divine qualities. Goddess Lalitā, contains within her womb these three Gods as well as their satellite powers *Vāmā*, *Jyeṣṭhā* and *Raudrī*. The authority for this concept is *mama yonir mahad brahma tasmin garbham dadāmyaham.*

(3) *Kalmaṣaghnī*-This name generally means the destroyer of sins. But the deeper sense or the implied meaning is that the Parāśakti blesses one with Supreme knowledge and thus destroys all the evil actions of the devotee. Thus she is of the form of *Brahma vidyā* or Supreme knowledge.

> *kalmaṣāṇi pāpāni hanti nāśayatīti kalmaṣaghnī 'aham tvā sarva pāpebhyo mokṣayiṣyāmi mā śucaḥ' iti bhagavad vacanāt atha vā vedānta mahāvākyajanya sākṣātkāra rūpā Brahmavidyā jñānāgniḥ sarvakarmāṇi bhasmasāt kurute tathā' iti smṛteḥ.*

Another contribution to this field by Śaṅkara is *Saundaryalaharī* a *stotra* on *Śakti* which contains several concepts of Tantra school as also a full description of the *Śrī Cakra*. The following verse refers to the various phlexes (*Cakras*) in the body and how the Goddess is sporting in the *Sahasrāra*-lotus with Lord Śiva.

> *mahīm mūlādhāre kamapi maṇipūre hutavaham*
> *sthitam svādhiṣṭhāne hṛdi marutām ākāśam upari /*
> *mano'pi bhrūmadhye sakalamapi bhitvā kulapatham*
> *sahasrāre padme saha rahasi patyā viharase* (9).

Another work of Śaṅkara, *Prapañcasāra*[10] also belongs to this class of Tantra literature. This work in 33 *paṭalas* deals with the creation of the universe, the phlexes in the body, initiation (*dikṣā*), *Mātṛkādhyāgra*, *Edakṣarijapa* and various forms of Devi. Based on this Gīrvāṇendra Sarasvati wrote *Prapañca sāra saṅgraha.*[11]

Bhāskararāya, who flourished between the 17th and 18th centuries was a great Śākta devotee. His important contributions to this field are *Varivasyā Rahasya* [12] with Commentary *Prakāśa* on Śri Vidyā. *Setubandha* is a voluminous commentary on a portion of *Vāmakeśvaratantra*. *Saubhāgyabhāskara* is on *Lalitāsahasranāma*, commentary *Guptavati* on *Durgāsaptaśatī* and several other works were written by him. About sixteen works in the field of Śāktism were written by him. All these show his depth of knowledge in this field.

In *Varivasya Rahasya* he says that everything in this world is her creation and hence it is incumbent on us to know this Supreme Power.

sā avaśyam vijñeyā yat pariṇāmād abhūd eṣā
arthamayī śabdamayī cakramayī deha mayyapi ca sṛṣṭiḥ //

(Aṁśa I. v.5).

The importance of *Gāyatri* is referred to in another verse.

taj jñārtham upāyā vidyā loke caturdaśa proktāḥ /
teṣvapi ca sārabhutā vedās tatrāpi Gāyatrī

(Amśa I.L v. 6).

Various interpretations are given to the *Gāyatrī mantra*, which are quite interesting in Aṁśa II. vv.57 ff.

eg. *kāmayate sa kakāraḥ kāmo brahmaiva tatpadasyārthaḥ*
savitur vareṇyam iti vai savituḥ śreṣṭham dvitīya varṇārthaḥ
sarvāntaryāmi dadhad bhargo devasya dhīti turyārthaḥ
pṛthvī mahī dakāras tṛtīya turyāṅghri bodhikā māyā

(Amiśa II, pp. 60-61).

Another scholar who belonged to the Śakti cult is Umānandanātha[13] of 17th - 18th centuries. He was the student of Bhāskararāya. He was known as Jagannātha Paṇdita before he took up *dīkṣā*. He was the son of Bālakṛṣṇa and Lakṣmi and belonged to the Viśvāmitra gotra. His family belonged to the Mahārastra region and he and his parents were richly honoured by Tanjore Maratha rulers.

bālakṛṣṇa vidvat sutena lakṣmyambayā upalālyena
śrutapeṭava apara nāmnā colādhipa bhosala mānyena
nāṭaka kāvyādi kṛtā mahita mahārāṣṭra jāti hīreṇa trayyanta tattvaśīla ....
bhāratyupākhya Bhāskaramakhi deśika labdha daikṣā nāmnāyam[14]

He wrote also the biography called *Bhāskaravilāsa* of his preceptor. Another treatise of his in this field is *Nityotsavanibandha* [15] on the worship of Lalitā, in 7 *ullāsas*. This according to some scholars is like a *paddhati*.

Another pupil of Bhāskararāya, Rāmeśvara of Kāśyapagotra wrote a commentary *Saubhāgyodaya*[16] on *Paraśurāmakalpasūtra*. He completed his commentary in 1831 A.D. His *dīkṣā* name is Aparājitānandanātha. This commentary is a valuable one as additional information which is not found in *Paraśurāmakalpasūtra* is given.

Finally an account of the worship of the *Śrī Cakra*, which plays an important part in Tantric system especially the Lalita cult.

Yantras or diagrams possessing divine power have an important place in Tantric rituals. They are of two kinds, one as an amulet, the other for worship. Particular geometrical forms inscribed in the *Cakra*, along with the mystic syllables (*bījākṣaras*) were capable of giving different fruits. Such *mantras* and mystic syllables were engraved on the metal plates, *bhūrja* leaves etc., and were held in high reverence. *Śrī Cakra* is the greatest one among the *Cakras*. This is the most powerful one as mentioned in *Tantraśāstra*. This *Cakra* is well-known as the abode of Goddess Lalitā. The worship of the *Cakra* with the recitation of the *mantra* leads the devotee to the direct perception of the divine form. The *Cakras* are drawn with straight lines, triangles, circles and squares. The lotus motif is also largely used. The circle which has no beginning and end indicates the region of radiation from the centre. Triangles represent the triple principle of creation, etc. Lotus flower responds to light and gradually unfolds. It opens petal by petal, which signifies the gradual unfoldment of latent powers in the being. Thus the form and worship of *Śrī Cakra* give great benefits.[17] Goddess Kamākṣī at Kāñci is one of the forms of Lalitā.

Lalitā śaiva Kamākṣi Kāñcyām vyaktim upāgatā
Sarasvatī Ramā Gauryaḥ tāmeva ādyām upāsate

(Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa, Ch. 39. V. 14)

In the holy place at Kāñci the worship is mainly offered to the *Śrī Cakra*, installed before the deity. This Goddess is an embodiment of Mahālakṣmi and Tripurāmbika.[18] The Lalitā cult thus had a sway over the devotees of the Goddess, the Supreme Being and Energy.

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CHAPTER X

JAINISM

Jainism, though introduced into Tamil Nadu by Bhadrabāhu (897 B.C.), it was Kundakunda[1] (First cent. A.D.) and Samantabhadra (180-85 A.D.) who propagated the religion in South India. The founding of the Dramiḷa Saṅgha in 469 A.D. added to the growth of this religion and its literature. Tiruppātirippuliyūr, Nārttāmalai, Vaḷḷimali and Sittannavāsal were centres of Jainism. Sarvanandi wrote *Lokavibhaga*, a work on cosmology, in the 5th century A.D. at Tiruppātirippuliyūr. Helācārya or Elācārya[2] who lived prior to the 9th century was a resident of Hemagrāma or Ponnūr in North Arcot District. He was the promulgator of the Jvālāmālinī cult.[3]

Yuan Chwang, the Chinese traveller states that in the Chu-li-ya (Cola country) there were believers of Tīrthikas (Tīrthaṅkaras), that Digambaras were popular and there were several Deva temples in the country.[4]

The psalms of Āḻvārs and Nāyanmārs, whose *bhakti* movement started from about the seventh century onwards refer to Jainism.

There were also literary works in Tamil, inspired by Jaina tenets or based upon Jaina stories from Sanskrit sources. Ilaṅgo Aḍigal, the author of the *Cilappatikāram*, was a Jain. *Valayāpati*, *Cīvakacintāmaṇi*, *Nīlakesi*, *Yaśodharakāvya* and *Nāgakumārakāvya* have themes in common with those found in the Sanskrit story literatures.

Before we pass on to literary references we can refer here to the *Aruṅgalacceppu* belonging to Arungalānvaya school of Jainism which is an adaptation of *Ratnakaraṇḍakaśrāvakācāra* written in the 12th cent. M.Arunachalam gives an analysis of this Tamil work in his *History of Tamil Literature*[5] (12th century). *Aruṅglacceppu* is divided into three sections as *naṟkātci*, *nanjñāna* and *nalloḷukkam*. This is further divided into several sections dealing with absence of doubt, respect to elders, *Aṇuvrata*, *Guṇavrata* and so on. The Jain *sadhus* who belonged to this fraternity were well-versed in other languages such as Sanskrit, Kannada, Pāli and Prākṛt besides their mother tongue Tamil. This work *Aruṅgalacceppu* is praiṣed thus.

tīrā vinai tīrkkum sitti patam uṇṭākkum
pārāy Aruṅkalacceppu

(v. 180).[108]

This *Aruṅgalānvaya* was associated with Dīpaṅgudi near Tiruvārūr.

Nīlakeśi is a work completely based upon Jainism. Among several Kāvya-cum-Sāstra epic poems we find *Maṇimekalai*, *Kuṇḍalakeśi* and *Nīlakeśi* having a unique place. Though the second two are not fully available, from what has been gathered and printed we find the development of Kāvya literature in Tamil language influenced by religious tenets and philosophical concepts. One will find naturally that poems of this type will be somewhat dull and drab. But the author of *Nīlakeśi* has tried his level best to make this poem appeal to the aestheticians as well as to others. We find that the heroine goes through different centres of learning and conquering scholars of various schools of thought. These sections of the Kāvya are named after these schools or persons belonging to these schools viz:

daruma curaic carukkam
Kuṇḍalakeśivāda carukkam
Aruºlkkacandra vāda carukkam
Moggalavādaº carukkam
Buddha vadaº carukkam
Ācīvakavādaº carukkam
Sāṅkhyavādaº carukkam
Vaiśesikavādaº carukkam
Vedavādaº carukkam
Bhūtavādaº carukkam

The different places where such debates were held between Nīlakeśi and the preceptors of the various schools are also given. They are Ujjain, Padumapura, Kapilapura, Attināpura and Kāklandi or Kāverippūmpaṭṭinam.

In this work, we come across references to Nīlakeśi worshipping Arugadeva with 1008 names along with music as also verses praising the deity.

tūmam cāntoṭu cuṇṇan tutiyoṭu paravupu toḷude
tāmam tāḷtara nāṟṟit tattuva dariśiya duruve
yameñ ṟai yena viyantaṅ ganna vāyirat toreṇ
ṇāma nalliśai toḍuttu nāda gītaṅgalai naviṟṟum[7]

In another eight verses, a *stotra* on Arhan is found. Each verse calls God as *Vīrar tam vīrarkkum vīra*, *pulavar tam pulavarkkum pulava* and so on. This verse speaks of Arhat as the one who revealed the *Aṅgāgama*, *Pūrvāgama* and *Prakīrṇāgama*.

poṅgu cāmarai endip puṭai puṭai iyakkar ninṟiraṭṭac
ciṅka vāsanattiruntu telintoli maṇṭila nīḻaṟṟat
tinkaṇ mukkuṭai kavippat tevar tan tiruntavai teruḷa
(v)anka pūvama taṟaintā yaṟivar tam arivaṟkkumaṟiva.[8]

Here the word *vaṅka* etc., refers to the revelations of the *Aṅgāgama*, *pūrvāgama* and *prakīraṇa*. We come across another point here also as *puva* a Prākṛt form being used for *pūrva*.

Tiṅkal mukkuṭai is the three circular moon like umbrellas as Candrāditta, Nityavinoda and Sakalapasana. Maṇṭila means the halos *āloka*, *prabhamūrti* and *ghanapratha*.

Another work which shows learnings towards Jainism is *Cūḷamaṇi*, of 10th century. The original name of this poem appears to be as given by Mayilaināthar in his Commentary on *Nannūl*.

ceṅkaṇ netiyan carita (2.5)

There are aslo references to the King Diviṭṭha as

purāṇa nulakattut tonṟiya kaḻai (405)

and as

purāṇa nannūl uraippak kattarivam (563)
purāṇa nūr pulavar (1509)

In another place we come across a reference to the king listening to *Ādi mahāpurāṇa* (387).

annavan ati ma puraṇamotinan

Yaśodharakāvya which is also a Jaina kāvya bears strong evidences of the influence of Jainism. Yaśodhara's story is found in the *Uttarapurāna* of Guṇabhadra. This has been adapted in Sanskrit. Of these mention may be made of Somadevasūri's *Yaśastilakacampū*, *Yaśodharacarita* of Vādirājasuri, *Yaśodharakāvya* of Haribhadra and Puṣpadanta. All these were written during the 10th cent. A.D. But there are lots of differences between the Tamil and Sanskrit versions. The story of Māridatta as given here is based on

Somadevasūri's *Yaśastilakacampū*.[9] Some incidents found in the Sanskrit works, like Vilāsavati's love for Sanatkumāra, the merchant who became a pig, Susaṅgata's story do not find a place in Tamil *Yaśodhara Kāvya*.

Another verse found in a manuscript also shows that *Yaśodharakāvya* is an adaptation of the Sanskrit work by Puṣpadanta.

puṭpatantan conna poruḷ cer katai tanmait
tiṭpamāy centamiḻir ceppinān - etc.

As for *Merumandara purāṇa* and *Yaśodhara kāvya* (Skt) and the Tamil version, similarities and influences are mentioned in the above edition of the Tamil text. One or two examples can be given here.

While explaining *iruvinaikalurrinivar*, the author of the note says that while heating iron, there appears water. *Merumantirapurāṇa* also says thus

taturak kayantapoḻtil tanurum nirai yotte[10]

In verse 284 when Sudatta (sage) explains to Aśoka of his previous birth, the poet says thus:

aṅku muni avatiyinarinda porulatanai etc.

Through *Avadhijñāna* one knows the past deeds. *Avadhi* is one of the five *Samyagjñāna*. They are *Matijñana, suta, avadhi, manahparyāya* and *Kevalajñāna*. This is referred to in Tattvārthaśāstra (adhy. l sūtra 9.)

Avirodhi Āḻvār, a Vaiṣṇavite, who belonged to the l4th cent. appears to have been attracted by Jainism. Once he was listening to a discourse in the temple of Nemicandra at Mylapore. The expounder said thus:

mokṣamārgasya netāram bhettāram ḳarma bhūbhṛtām
jñātāram viśvatattvānām vande tad guṇalabdhaye

(*Sarvārthasiddhi p.l.v.l*)[11]

The Vaiṣṇavite approached the preceptor and wanted to know about the significance of *tat guṇalabdhaye*, but the preceptor refused to oblige.[12]

Mahendravarman I and Saint Appar were followers of Jainism at first and later on embraced Śaivism. But the growth of theistic sects like Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism ied to Jainism losing its hold over people. It is said that Jñānasambandhar,who lived about the 8th century, defeated the Jains. Thus Jains in South India faced a set back during the Pallava and Pāṇḍya periods.

Samantabhadra[13] was a prominent Jaina guru and was responsible for spreading Jainism in South India. That he belonged to Tamil Nadu is clear from the colophons of a manuscript of his *Āptamīmāṁsā*[14] referring to him as a son of the King of Uraiyūr. *Kathākośa* of Prabhācandra speaks of him as a Jain mendicant of Kāñcī. He is considered to be one of the earlier gurus of *Dramila Saṅgha*.[15] He is also referred to as Śāntivarman,[16] son of a Nāga chief. If this Śāntivarman is the son of Kiḷḷivalavan, who had marital alliances with Pīlivalai, the Naga prince, he can be assigned to the third century A.D. But the traditional date given to him is 138 A.D. His works available in Sanskrit are:

(1) *Āptamīmāṁsā* or *Devāgamastotra*
(2) *Yuktyanuśāsana*
(3) *Svayambhūstotra*
(4) *Jinastutiśataka*
(5) *Ratnakaraṇḍakaśrāvakācāra*

The *Devāgamastotra* or *Āptamīmāṁsā* in 115 verses forms an introduction to the *Gandhahasti Mahābhāṣya* on Umāsvati's *Tattvārthasūtra*. In this the Jainistic philosophy *syādvāda* is explained (SJG.10 Benares 1914). The *Ratnakaraṇḍakaśrāvakācara* or *Upāsakādhyayana* is a manual of morals for the lay adherent. It is in 150 Sanskrit verses (Ptd. Arrah, 1917). The *Yuktyanuśāsana* is a hymn to Mahāvīra and contains 65 verses in Sanskrit. The *Svayambhūstotra* is on the 24 Jinas beginning with the first Jina who is here called Svayambhū, the self-existent (Wint, HIL. II. p.552).

Samantabhadra was a great scholar whose views are quoted by several scholars like Siddhasena Divākara, Haribhadra, Dharmakīrti and Kumārila. He was also connected with the rulers of Karahaṭa (modern Karahāḍa), the capital of Kadambas of Vanavāsi.

The Dramiḷ(d)a saṅgha

This Sangha was founded in Vikrama Saka 526 and it played a prominent role in the development of Jainism in Tamil Nadu. *Darśanasāra* of Devasena (933 A.D.) gives the date of establishment of this Saṅgha as 469 A.D. This was founded by Vajranandin, Pūjyapada's disciple.

The following scholars were connected with the Dramiḷa Saṅgha.

(1) Guṇanandin (550 A.D.), a disciple of Pūjyapāda Devanandin. He was the author of *Prakriyā* on *Jainendravyākaraṇa*.

(2) Vakragrīva (575 A.D.) wrote *Navaśabdavācya* and is mentioned as a predecessor of Vajranandin in the inscriptions.

(3) Sumatideva (600 A.D.) is said to be the first commentator of *Sammatitarka*, a general work on Philosophy and logic (Ptd. Poona, 1926).

(4) Pātrakesarin (575-625 A.D.), the author of *Trilaksana-kadarthana* is described as the head (or foremost) of the Dramila Saṅgha. *Trilakṣaṇa-kadarthana* was written as refutation of the *Trilakṣaṇa* theory adapted by Diṅnāga, the Buddhist logician. He is referred to in Vādiraja's commentary on *Nyāyaviniścaya*. Verses from this work are quoted in the *Tattvasaṅgraha* of Śāntanakṣita (See Anekānt I pp. 74-75). This is also mentioned in the Śravaṇabelgoḷa Inscription 54. v. 12. He is praised along with Akalaṅka by Jinasena in *Ādipurāṇa*. From a statment made by Ugrāditya in his *Kalyāṇakāraka*, he appears to have composed a treatise on medicine. As several Jain scholars quote him, he seems to have had a prominent place in the field of Jainism.

(5) Srivarddhadeva is referred to as the author of *Cūḍamaṇi*, a *Kāvya*, in an inscription from Karnataka d.1128 A.D.

cūdāmaṇih kavīnam cūḍāmaṇināma sevya kāvya kavih
śrīvarddha deva eva hi kṛtapuṇyah kīrtim āharttum.

In the same inscription we find a verse ascribed to Daṇḍin praising Śrīvarddhadeva.

ya evam upaslokito daṇḍina:-

janhoḥ kanyām jaṭāgreṇa babhāra parameśvaraḥ
śrīvarddhadevaḥ! sandhatse jihvāgreṇa sarasvatīm.

Śrīvarddhadeva is mentioned after Pātrakesarī and before Akalaṅka in this inscription. He must therefore have lived in the 7th cent. A.D. M. Arunachalam identifies him with Tolāmoḻippulavar,[17] the author of the Mahākāvya *Cūlāmaṇi*, while some others identify him with Tumbalūrācārya,[18] who wrote a commentary called *Cūḍamaṇi* on the Digambara Agamas.

According to T.A. Gopinatha Rao,[19] *Aruṅgalānvaya* is a branch of the Nandigaṇa of Dramila saṅgha. Guṇabhadra who wrote *Uttarapurāṇa*, Kumārasena and Śrīvarddhadeva also belonged to this fraternity.

Sarvanandī was the author of *Lokavibhāga* in 1536 verses, a work on cosmology written in the 22nd regnal year of Siṁhavarman of Kāñcī, (458 A.D.) It is said that the work was written at Pāṭalika (i.e. Tiruppātirippuliyūr, North Arcot district).[20] The original is lost. But a Sanskrit rendering of the same by Siṁhasūri (12th cent.)[21] is available. This work is also helpful in fixing the date of the first Pallava ruler.

Akalaṅka[22] was a Jain logician. He was a contemporary of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Śubhatunga or Kṛṣṇa I, who ruled in the first half of the 8th cent. A.D. According to a legendary account Akalaṅka is said to have defeated the Bauddhas in the court of a Pallava King named He (i) maśītala at Alipadaitangi near Kāñcī and drove them to Ceylon.[23] It is believed that he is from Śravaṇabeḷgoḷa and went to Pontage in the North Arcot district for study.[24] The accounts given above and the work *Karnāṭakabhāṣābhuṣaṇa*[25] appear to suggest Akalaṅka's connections with South India especially with Kāñcī.

He was the author of the following works:

(1) *Akalaṅkasūtra* (2) *Akalaṅkastotra* or *Akalaṅkāṣṭaka* (3) The commentary *Aṣṭaśatī* on Samantabhadra's Āptamīmāṁsā (4) The commentary *Tattvārthavārttikālaṅkāra* on Umāsvāti's *Tattvarthādhigamasūtra*, (5) *Devāgamastotranyāsa* (6) *Nyāyacūlikā* (7) *Nyāyaviniścaya* (8) *Pramāṇaratnapradīpa* (9) *Pramāṇalakṣaṇa* (10) *Pramāṇasaṅgraha* (11) *Prāyascittavidhi* or *Śrāvakavidhi* (12) *Bṛhattrayī* (13) *Vādasindhu* (14) *Siddhiviniśacya* (15) *Svarūpasambodhane.*

Akalaṅkasūtra is a work on logic. It is suggested that this *Akalaṅkasūtra* is either Akalaṅka's kārikas on his *Siddhiviniścaya* or *Pramāṇasaṅgrahasūtras. Aṣṭaśati* is a commentary on *Devāgamastotra* or *Āptamīmāṁsā* of Samantabhadra. This work on Jaina Philosophy deals mainly with logic. On *Tattvārthādhigamasūtra*, a work on Jaina religion and Philosophy, Akalaṅka wrote a commentary *Tattvārthāvārttikālaṅkāra. Devāgamastotranyāsa*, the exact nature of this work is not known. It is found mentioned in an inscription at Śravaṇa beḷgoḷa.[26] The other works written in the field of Nyāya are *Nyāyacūlikā* and *Nyāyaviniścaya*.A few works by this author in this field are *Pramāṇaratnapradīpa*, *Pramāṇalakṣaṇa* and *Pramāṇasaṅgraha.*[27] The last work contains 87 *Karikas.* On expiation he appears to have written a work called *Prāyaścitta* (*grantha*) or *vidhi* or *Śrāvakācara.* But there is doubt regarding the authorship of this work. *Laghīyatrayī* is another important contribution of his to the Nyāya system of Philosophy. This work contains 78 *kārikas* and is divided

into three chapters: *Pramāṇa*, *Nyāya* and *Āgama*. Hence the work is called *Laghīyastrayī*.

Vādirāja was one of the prominent writers in the field of Jainism. He was the disciple of Matisāgara and was patronised by Jagadekamalla Jayasiṁha II (1018-42 A.D.). Though his main field of activity was Karnataka his residential place was Siṁhapura in the Pudukkottai state of Tamil Nadu.[28] He is eulogised as a poet and scholar in several inscriptions from Karnataka.[29] Kannada literary works like Nāgavarma's *Kāvyāvalokana*[30] and Śāntinātha's *Sukumāracarita*[31] extol him.

Vādirāja wrote the following works: (1) *Yaśodharacarita*[32] is a kāvya in four cantos and has for its theme women's frailty and the punishments for sin. The Tamil *Yaśodharacarita* is based on this. (2) *Pārśvanāthacarita*,[33] is a literary epic in 12 cantos and gives an account of the different births of Saint Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third Tīrthaṅkara, upto his *Nirvāṇa*. This work is full of lengthy descriptions of victories in battles, love and beauty etc., and resembles a *Mahākāvya*. (3) *Nyāyaviniścayavivaraṇa*[34] is an exhaustive commentary on Akalaṅka's work on logic, *Nyāyaviniścaya*. This work brings home to us the mastery of Vādirāja over different schools of philosophy. (4) *Pramāṇaviniścaya*[35] is a work on the instruments of valid knowledge. There is a doubt about Vādirāja's author-ship. (5) *Ekībhāvastotra*[36] is a hymn in 25 verses in the *Mandākrānta* metre. The authorship for this is also doubtful. (6) *Kakūtsthacarita* is referred to by Vādirāja himself in his *Yaśodharacarita* (I.6.). (7) Sri Pārśvanātha *Kakūtsthacaritam yena kīrtitam*. This work is not available at present. The above account gives us an idea as to the variety of works that Vādirāja wrote and the place he held amongst the scholars.

Oḍayadeva or Vādibhasiṁhadeva (11th cent.) is said to have been from Tamil Nadu. He was the pupil of Puṣpasena and a fellow pupil of Vādirāja.[37] He wrote *Kṣattracūḍāmaṇi* and *Gadyacintāmaṇi*, both based on the life of Jīvandhara and Gandharvadattā.

Kṣatracūḍāmaṇi[38] is a kāvya in 11 *lambhas* (cantos) and *Gadyacintāmaṇi*[39] is a prose romance in 11 *lambhas* and is based on Guṇabhadra's *Uttarapurāṇa*.

After this period the activities of Jains began to decline and the output of literature also decreased.

Notes and References

1. Traditionally believed to be the author of the Kural. See, M.S. Ramaswami Ayyangar, *Studies in South Indian Jainism*, pp. 42-4.
2. *Annual Report of South India Epigraphy*, 1929, p. 88.
3. P.B. Desai, *Jainism in South India*, pp. 47-8.
4. T. Watters, Yuan Chwang II. p. 224.
5. M. Arunacalam, *History of Tamil Literature*, 12th cent. p. 780.
6. M. Arunacalam, op. cit. pp. 782, 786 ff.
7. *Kuṇḍalakeci vādac carukkam* p. 117, v. 153.
8. *Nīlakēci.* p. 121. v. 157.
9. See Intro. p. 2 ff. *Yaśodhara kāvya*, South India Saiva Siddhanta works Publishing Society, Madras, 1977.
10. v. 70. pp. 66-67. Meru 97.
11. *Sarvārthasiddhi* of Acārya pūjyapāda, Skt. Ser. 13. Bhāratiya Jñānapiṭha, Kāśi, 1952.
12. See M. Arunacalam, op.cit.14th cent. Lit. p. 202, 299 - 303, for an account of his identity and works.
13. M.S. Ramaswami Ayyangar, *op.cit.* pp. 29-31.
14. *iti Phaṇimaṇḍalālaṅkarasyoragapurādhipa sūnoh Śrī Swāmi Samantabhadra muneh kṛtam Āptamīmāmsāyām.*
15. *Epigraphia Carnatica* V. B.l. 17, p. 51 AK. I. p.112.
16. *iti phaṇimaṇḍalādhipasya uragapurādhipasūmunā śāntivarma· nama samantabhadreṇa.*
17. M.Arunachalam, op. cit. 10th century p. 42 ff.
18. Kavicaritre I. p.8· fn. 1. See also *Jinaraṭnakośa* I. p. 303b.
19. *Sentamil Tokuṭi* V. pp. 95-102. *Cīvaka Cintāmaṇi*, Saiva Siddhanta Samajam edn. Intro pp. 19-21. See also M. Arunachalam, *op.cit*, 10th cent. pp. 42-3.
20. *Praśastisaṅgraha* pp. 114-15.

vaisve sthite ravisute viṛṣabheca jīve rajottareṣu sitapakṣam upetya candre
grāme ca pāṭalike nāmni panarāṣṭre sashanpura likhitavān muni sarvanandi.
samvatsare dvāvimśe kancisu simhavarmaṇah
asityagre śakābdānām siddhametat satatraye.

21. *ācārya valikagatam viracitam tat simhasuraṛṣiṇā*
bhāṣāyāh parivartanena nipuṇaih sammānitam madhuktih.

22. Vide: S.C. Vidyabhusana, *History of Indian Logic*, pp. 185-6. For further details about the author and his works, see NCC I. Revised edn. pp. 3a-5b.

23. See Descriptive Catalogue of Tamil Mss. Govt. Ori. MSS. Library, Madras Vol. VIII. No.3077; also *Epigraphia Carnatica* VI. Intro. p. 30.

24. *Epigraphia Carnatica* VI. Intro. p.30.

25. *Karnataka Bhāṣābhūṣaṇa* pp. 24-25.

26. See Ins. 105 of Śravaṇabelgoḷa (Rice, Mysore and Coorg, p.200,

27. Ptd. *Singhi Jain. Ser.* 12.

28. *Yaśodharacarita*, Introduction, p. 15.

29. *ekatra guninah sarve vādirāja tvam ekatah tasyaiva gauravam tasya tulāyām unnataiḥ katham.*

30. *Epigraphia Carnatica* XI. No.90. p.443. See also Intro. pp. 19-16 of *Yasodharacarita* v.188.

31. (SC) I. 25.

32. Dr.K. Krishnamoorthy, Karnataka Univ. Dharwar, 1963.

33. *Manikchand Digambar, Jain Granth.* Ser. No.4.

34. *Bharatiya Jnanapith Ser.* 1949.

35. *Manikchand Digambar, Jain Granth.* 10. Bombay 19.

36. *K.M. Gucch.* VII. pp. 17-22 (14th edn. 1926). See NCC III pp. 74 a-b.

37. NCC.III.pp. 94b-95a.

38. *Sarasvati Vilas Ser.* No.3. Tanjore, 1903.

39. Ibid. No.1. Tanjore, 1902.

CHAPTER XI

BUDDHISM

Buddhism reached South India and Ceylon at the time of Aśoka from the North and thus began to spread gradually. Various centres of Buddhist religion were established in South India even in the early Christian era. In spite of the consistent attacks by the Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva movements from about the sixth century A.D., Buddhism continued to exist in this part of the country till about the thirteenth century A.D.

Yuan Chwang in his work on Travels in India gives an account of the state of Buddhism in the Pallava and Cola countries. According to him there were more than ten thousand *sthaviravādin* monks living in one hundred monasteries in the Dravida land. He refers to the great scholar Dharmapāla.[1] According to him, in the Chu-li-ya (Cola) country many of the Buddhist monasteries were in ruins and only a few were occupied by monks.[2]

Several Buddhist scholars also went from South India to North India, Ceylon and China and wrote treatises on Buddhism or translated important Buddhist works. Among these scholars, Āryadeva or Deva (200-25 A.D.) who was also known as Nīlanetra and Kānadeva is said to have belonged to South India or Ceylon and believed to have been a student of Nāgārjuna. Kumārajīva gives a legendary account of the life of Āryadeva in Chinese. Bodhidharma appears to be a South Indian and a prince of the Pallava family according to traditional accounts. He went to China and founded Zen Buddhism.

Dharmagupta (590-616 A.D.) and Bodhiruci or Dharmaruci (600-50 A.D.) are also considered to be South Indian scholars who went to China and translated Buddhist works into Chinese. Guṇamati was another scholar of this region who went to Nalanda. Kāñcīpura had strong connections with Buddhism. Diṅnāga (C. 450-500 A.D.), the founder of the Vijñānavāda school of Buddhism, Bodhidharma (C.600 A.D), the reputed founder of Zen in the Far-East and Dharmapāla (540-610 A.D.), who was Professor at Nalanda were all associated with Kāñcī.

Vajrabodhi (669-741 A.D.), who preached Yoga in China, belonged to Malaya in South India. Yuan Chwang says that he was a preceptor of a Pallava ruler.

References to the prevalence of Buddhism are found in the Tamil Classical works such as, *Cilappatikāram*, *Maṇimekalai*, *Kuṇḍala Keśi*, and also *Tēvāram* sung by the Nāyanmārs and in Sanskrit works like the *Bhagavadajjuka*, the *Mattavilāsa* etc. The works of Buddhadatta of the fifth century show clearly that Kāñcipura and Kāverippaṭṭinam were centres of Buddhism.

kaveripaṭṭane rame nānārāmopasobhite karite
kanhadasena dassaniya manorame (*Abhidhammāvatāra*)

The Pallavas and the Colas patronised the Buddhist monasteries at Nāgapaṭṭinam. In this monastery, probably Buddhadatta completed the *Abhidhammāvatāra*. This is the well known Chinese Pagoda at Nāgapaṭṭinam, built by the Pallava King Rajasiṁha for the worship by the Buddhists on landing at Nāgapaṭṭinam from China. A Grant made by Rājarāja and Kulottuṅga Cola I to the *Vihara* at Nāgapaṭṭinam is referred to in the Leiden Copper Plate Grant.

line 78. *aneka-surasadana-satrapurābhirāme vividha sandha rājamane.*

line 79. *Nāgipattanenija mati vithava vijita gurunā*

line 83. * * *Cūlāmaṇi varmaṇasya vihāram*

line 84. *adhivasate Buddhaya tasminneva janapadan nivahe.*

line 85. *pattanak kura-namni janapade kariṇi parikramaṇa.*

line 86. *vispasta-sīmā-catuṣṭayam Ānaimaṅgalābhidhānam grāmam adāt.*

Vīracoḻiyam a Tamil work on grammar and poetics by the Buddhist scholar, Buddhamitra, shows much influence of Sanskrit. It was composed in the eleventh century.

The Buddhist contribution to different fields of Sanskrit, like grammar, philosophy and the commentaries on the Buddhist *Nikāyas* deserve our attention. Many Buddhist scholars wrote in Pāli, in excellent literary style. Buddhadatta writes about the Bhūtamaṅgalavihāra thus:

seṭṭhassa colaraṭṭhassa nābhībhūte nirākule
sabbassa panalokassa gāme sampiṇḍite viya
kadalī sāla tāluccha nārīkeravanākule
kamaluppalaasanchanna salilā'śayasobhite

kāveri-jala-sampāta pavipūtamahītale
iddhe sabbaṅgasampanne maṅgale Bhūtamaṅgale
pavarākāra pākāra parikhāparivārite
vihāre veṇhudāsassa dassanīya manorame

(Vin.vi.pp.314-15)

Diṅnāga or Dignāga, who gave a new shape to Buddhist logic was a pupil of Vasubandhu and one of the most prolific writers on Buddhist philosophy. According to Tāranātha he was born at Siṁhavaktra, identified with Śiṅgapperumāḷ koil, near Kāñci in the Pallava country. He lived in the fifth century A.D.[3] He resided at Kalinga and often visited Nalanda. According to Mallinātha and Dakṣiṇāvartanātha, Kālidasa refers to him in *Meghadūta*.[4] Sixteen works are said to have been written by him of which some are available only in Tibetan or Chinese translations. *Prajñāpāramitāpiṇḍārtha*[5] *saṅgraha* in fifty-eight verses gives a summary of the *Wisdom-Perfection* according to the Yogācāra standpoint. *Yogāvatara*[6] in nine verses deals succinctly with the concept of the ultimate reality according to the *Yogācāra* school. In his other work *Traikālyaparīkṣa*,[7] Dignāga criticises the theory of absolute *Brahman* postulated by Bhartṛhari. By taking thirty-five verses from Bhartṛhari's work Diṅnāga has altered two words for establishing his view. *Hastavālaprakaraṇa*[8] in 6 verses, proves that the entities that exist in everyday life are mere illusions and explains the difference between the two truths. This work stresses the need for knowing the ultimate reality. The title is aptly given for this work to show that it is foolish to understand the form of an elephant by analysing its limbs. *Upādeyaprajñāptiprakaraṇa*[9] is on the three kinds of concepts (l) wholes (in space) (2) series (in Time) and (3) states (either in space or in time). *Ālambanaparīkṣa*[10] examines the *Ālambana* (the object). It can neither be a buṅdle of atoms or a 'whole' or parts joined together. In any case it becomes a conventional reality. If both are taken together then differences between two objects though made of the same material, like a jar and a dish, both made of clay, could be established. Thus Diṅnāga in this work tries to examine the objects.

Not contended with the system of logic presented by his preceptor, Vasubandhu, Diṅnāga, a great dialectician, revoked the entire theory and gave it a new form. To this class belongs *Hetucakraḍamaru*[11] which analyses the possible relations between the middle and major terms. Two other works are: (i)*Pramāṇasamuccya*,[12] in five chapters, in which the author has gathered the views of earlier writers and summarises them, (ii) *Nyāyapraveśa*[13] (*omukha*) which in two sections defines proof and its refutation. A commentary

Marmapradīpa on Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa* is found in his name.[14] The *Anākḥyracintārajaśāstra*[15] given as a work of Diṅnāga, is the Chinese translation of the *Paramārtha* section of *Ālambanaparīkṣā*. A few other *stotras* given in his name will be considered in the relevant section on *stotras*.

Buddhaghoṣa was one of the most prominent figures in the field of Buddhism. He lived in the first half of the 5th century A.D. According to legendary accounts, Buddhaghoṣa was born in North India at Tailaṅga and lived at Moraṇḍakheṭaka. The exact identity of Moraṇḍakheṭaka is not clear. From the reference to Tailanga he is considered to belong to Triliṅgadeśa i.e. Andhra. Later on he went to Ceylon and studied the *Tipiṭaka* and *Aṭṭakathā* in the Mahāvihāra at Anurādhapura. Probably he spent most of his early life in South India. He refers to his stay at Kāñcī in his *Aṭṭhakathā* on *Aṅguttaranikāya*.

ayacito sumatinā thereṇa bhadanta jotipālena
kāñcīpurādisu mayā pubbe saddhimvasahlena.

His contribution to Buddhism was very rich. He wrote commentaries on the *Tripiṭaka*. The *Prapancasūdani*[16] is a commentary on *Majjhimanikāya* and was written at the request of Buddhaghoṣa's friend, Buddhamitta.

ayacito sumatina therena bhadanta buddhamittena
mayūrasattapattanamahisaddhi vasantena paravada
vidvamsanassa Majjhima Nikāya .... etc.

Samantappasādikā is a voluminous commentary on the five books of the *Vinaya piṭaka*. The rules of morality are well explained in it. The commentary *Kaṅkhāvatāraṇi* is on *Pātimokkha* which gives certain rules of discipline (*vinaya*), which can easily be committed to memory by Bhikkus and Bhikkunis. These are all based on earlier commentaries. *Sumangalavilāsini* on *Dīghanikāya* is a very important treatise both from the cultural point of view and as a comparative treatise with the Brahmanical ideal of priesthood. The most essential points of Buddhism, the details of Arhatship are not only described in detail but also compared with the Brahmanical system. *Manorathapūraṇi*, a commentary on *Aṅguttara Nikāya* was written at the request of Bhadanta Thera Jotipāla, who was a scholar of Kāñci. On *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*, the commentary *Aṭṭhaśālini* was written by him. This work deals with classification and definition of the *Dhammas*, on the psychical conditions and phenomena. This was written in India. Another work which he wrote in India was the *Nānodaya* (*Jñānodaya*), probably a philosophical treatise. This is not available. Besides these he wrote commentaries, viz., Aṭṭhakathās, on the *Dhātukathāpakaraṇa* (on elements), *Kathāvatthu* (points of controversy), *Yamakapakaraṇa*, *Pattānapakaraṇa*, and

commentary *Sammohavinodanī* on *Vibhaṅga*. Another important contribution to Buddhism by Buddhaghoṣa was *Visuddhimagga*, the encyclopaedia of Buddhism. The aim of this book was to arrange the contents of the *Piṭakas* in a systematic manner. Thus this book presents an abstract of the doctrinal and metaphysical parts of the Buddhist system. *Padyacūḍāmaṇi*,[17] which narrates the important events in Buddha's life is found in the name of Buddhaghoṣa. It is still a matter of controversy as to the identity of this work and the Pāli writer.[18]

Ācārya Dharmapāla[19] considered to be later than Buddhaghoṣa (5th cent. A.D.), lived at Badaratiṭṭha (Padara) vihāra, identified as a city in the South-East coast of India.[20] He wrote *Aṭṭhakathas* on the *Thera* and *Therigātha* and several other Pāli commentaries.

Dhammapāla, referred to in the beginning of this section was also another scholar who wrote commentaries in Pāli. Prof. Malalasekhara opines that these writers put into Pāli which was already handed down in the local dialects, Sinhalese and Tamil.[21]

Buddhadatta lived at Uragapura in South India in the 5th century and wrote in the monastery of Bhūtamaṅgala[22] in the Cola country. His patron was Accutavikkama[23] (Acyutavikrānta), the Kalabhra ruler of Colanāḍu. Tradition makes him a contemporary of Buddhaghoṣa and as belonging to the Mahāvihāra at Anurādhapura. The colophon to his works speaks of him as a poet and sound scholar in grammar and the *Tipiṭaka*.

> *Iti tambapaṇṇiyena paramavayyākaraṇena tipiṭakanayavidhikusalena paramakavijana hidayapadumavana vikasana karena kavivaravasabhena paramaratikaravara madhuravacanuggārena Uragapurena Buddhadattena racito uttaravinicchayo samatto.*[24]

He is also known to have had connections with monasteries at Kāveripppūmpaṭṭinam, Bhūtamaṅgalam, and Kāñcī. He gives a glowing description of Kāverippaṭṭinam[25] in his work *Abhiddhammāvatāra*.

He wrote the following works:

1. *Abhiddhammāvatāra*[26] is an introduction to the study of *Abhiddhamma*. This is mostly in verse with explanatory passages in prose in some places.
2. *Uttaravinicchaya*[27] is a commentary on *Vinayapiṭaka* and this is dedicated to his pupil Śaṅkhapāla.
3. *Jinālaṅkāra*,[28] a Pāli poem of two hundred and fifty verses on the life history of Buddha is ascribed to him.

4. *Madhuraṭṭhavilāsinī*, a commentary on *Buddhavaṁsa* is ascribed to him according to Ceylonese tradition.

5. *Rūpāvatāravibhāga*[29] is a text on *Abhiddhamma*.

Dharmapāla (540-610 A.D.), was the son of a high official of Kāñcī according to Yuan Chwang's[30] account. It is said that when Dharmapāla was about to be married to a princess, he sought divine help and became a recluse. His identity with the author of Pāli works is doubtful. He wrote a commentary on *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi*[31] of Vasubandhu, which was translated into Chinese by Yuan Chwang.[32] He was Chief Professor (abbot) at Nalanda and is said to be a contemporary of Bhāvaviveka and Bhartṛhari.

Candrakīrti was born in the South in Samanta according to Tibetan tradition.[33] He lived during 560-620 A.D.[34] He was the author of the following works:

1) *Prasamapada or Mādhyamikavṛtti.*
2) *Catuhśatakavṛtti.*
3) *Yuktiśaṣṭikavṛtti.*
4) *Śūnyatāsaptativṛtti.*
5) *Mādhyamakāvatāra* with his own commentary.
6) *Pañcaskandhaprakaraṇa.*
7) *Mādhyamakaprajñāvatāra.*

Dharmakīrti (600 A.D.) one of the greatest personalities in the history of Buddhism was, according to Tibetan historians, a South Indian Brahmin, born in Tirumala, in the kingdom of Cūḍāmaṇi (probably Cola country). His father Parivrājaka Korunanda,[35] was a Tīrthiḳa by faith. He wrote the following works:

1) *Pramāṇavārttika.*[36]
2) *Pramāṇavinicchaya.*[37]
3) *Nyāyabindu.*[38]
4) *Hetubindu.*
5) *Sambandhaparīkṣa.*
6) *Vādanyāya.*
7) *Santānantarasiddhi.*

He also wrote commentaries, on the first chapter of *Pramāṇavārttika* and on *Sambandhaparīkṣā*. Some of these are available only in Tibetan translation.

Dharmakīrti was also a poet and anthologies quote his verses[39]. Ānandavardhana refers to him as a pessimistic poet.[40]

Buddhappiya Thera or Buddhappiya Dīpaṅkara or Coliya Dīpaṅkara is assigned to the llth century by a few scholars and to the 13th cent. by a few others. In the Colophon to his *Pajjamadhu*, he refers to him as the disciple of Ānandavardhana. That he belonged to the Damila country is clear from the colophon to *Rūpasiddhi*. This perfect *Rūpasiddhi* was composed by that monk who received the title of Buddhappiya and was named Dīpaṅkara, a disciple of Ananda, the eminent preceptor who was like a standard in Tambapanni - he (Dīpaṅkara) was renowned like a lamp in the Damila country, and being the resident Superior Thera of two monasteries including Baladicca, caused the religion to shine forth. We also know that he was conferred the title Buddhappiya and called Dīpaṅkara.[41] These references establish his associations with the Damila country.

He wrote two works (*Pada*) *Rūpasiddhi* a work on Pāli grammar based on Kaccāyana's works and *Pajjamadhu* a commentary on the former is ascribed to the author himself.[43] *Pajjamadhu*, a Pāli poem in l04 verses, describes the beauty of the Buddha's personality, his teachings and the Saṅgha.[44] Both these works appear to have been composed when the author was residing at Cola country.

Anuruddha Thera was another Buddhist Sanskrit and Pāli writer of l2th century. He lived at Kāncī, Tanjore and Tinnevelly and later at Mulasomavihāra in Ceylon. Among his works *Anuruddhaśataka*[45]and *Nāmarūpapariccheda*[46] may be mentioned.

Kassapa (Coliya)[47] was the last commentator on *Piṭaka*. He lived in the l2th century A.D. in the Nāgavanavihāra in Cola Country. He was the author of two works: *Mohavicchedanī*, a commentary on *Abhidhammaṭīkā*. This work gives details about the residence of the author. In *Vimatavinodani*, commentary on *Vinayakathā*, he has criticised the views of Sāriputta.

The contributions of Buddhist scholars and philosophers started to decline in the course of time though their views were taken up for discussion and criticism by the religious leaders of later times.

Notes and References

1. T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India* II. p. 226.
2. Ibid. p. 224.
3. A.K. Warder, *Indian Buddhism* gives the date as 4th cent. A.D. For an account of his life and works, see *ibid.* pp. 447-62.

4. I.14. *diṅnāgānam pathi pariharan sthūla hastāvalepan.* F.W. Thomas considers this as referring to *Hastavālaprakaraṇa* of Diṅnāga. See M. Krishnamacharya, *History of Classical Skt. Lit.* pp. 107-8.
5. WZKSO. III. pp. 140 ff.
6. Ibid. pp.144 ff.
7. Ibid. *ZKS.* III. pp. 145 ff.
8. Ibid. 152 ff.
9. Ibid. 121 ff.
10. Ibid. 152 ff.
11. Ibid. III. pp. 161 ff.
12. Ed. by Randle in *Fragments from Diṅnāga*, Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1926.
13. *Materialen zum Kunde des Buddhismus* ed. Wallesar, Leipzig, Heidelberg, 1930.
14. Cordier, III. p. 397.
15. Nanjio, 1172.
16. Ed. by Woods, Kosambi and Horner. *PTS.* 1922-38.
17. Published in Madras, 1921.
18. C.E. Godakumbara doubts this identity.
19. G.P. Malalasekhara, *Pāli Hist. of Ceylon*, pp. 112-16. Rahul Sankrityayana, *Pāli Sāhitya kā Itihās*, pp. 266-67.
20. *Sāsanavaṁśa* p.13. Cf. Col. *Paramattha dīpanī.* Badaratiṭṭhavihāravāsinā ācāriya Dhammapālena, p.355.
21. G.P. Malalasekhara, *op.cit.* pp. 115-16.
22. *Vinayavinicchaya.* vv. 3169-70. p.228. *maṅgale bhūtamaṅgala pavarakara pakara parikhaparivārite vihāre.*
23. Ibid. p.129. *Accutavikkanto kalambakula maṇḍane.*
24. Ibid. pp. 303-04. Buddhadatta's Manuals Pt. II. London, 1927.
25. *Abhidhammāvatāra* p. 204.
nānārātanasampuṇṇe vividhāpaṛasaṇkaṭe kāverippattane ramme.

26. *PTS.* 1915.
27. *PTS.* 106, 1927.
28. Printed in Roman script with English Transl. London, 1894.
29. G.P. Malalasekhara, *op.cit.* p. 108.
30. T. Watters, *Yuan Chwang* II op.cit. pp. 226-28.
31. L. de Poussin. *Toung Pao* XXVIIL 1-2. p. 178. *Museon* VI. 2. pp. 178-94. 1905.
32. *Le Siddhide Hiuan Tsang.* 2 Volumes Ed. Poussin, Paris, 1928.
33. NCC.VI.pp.3466.47b
34. A.K. Warder, *Indian Buddhism*, p. 551.
35. Ibid. pp. 469 ff.
36. Printed with *Vrtti* I.ch. 'Hindu Vishvavidyalaya' *Nepal Rajya Sanskrit Ser.* Vol. II. 1959.
37. *NCC XIII* p.44 b
38. *Bib. Bud.*1918.
39. *SKM* of *Śrīdharadāsa* vv.406, 616, 703, 814 etc. *SV.* of Vallabhadeva vv.657, 737, 1472 etc. *SKM* of Jalhana pp.93, 172, 199.
40. K. Krishnamoorthy, Ānandavardhana's *Dhvanyāloka*, pp. 335, 338, 380, 383. According to Tibetan Transl. he wrote a commentary on Āryasūra's *Jātakamāla*, Cordier III. p.417.
41. Malalasekhara, *op.cit.* p. 220.
42. *Padarūpasiddhi*, Colombo.
43. *GV.* pp. 60-70.
44. *JPTS.* London Ed. D.G. Koparkar, Ahmadnagar College Publication, Ahmadnagar, 1953-4.
45. Printed in Colombo. 1866.
46. *JPTS.* 1913-14, pp. 1-111.
47. Malalasekhara, *op.cit.* pp. 179-80.

CHAPTER XII

SECTION 'A'

SANSKRIT LITERATURE (PURE)

Sundara Pāṇḍya, who was the author of the *Nītidviṣaṣṭikā* is usually taken to be the advaitic scholar quoted by Śaṅkara in his commentary on the *Brahma Śūtra*. Amalānanda in his commentary *Kalpataru* quotes three verses of Sundara Pāṇḍya referring to his name[1]. Still some others consider him as the Pāṇḍya ruler bearing the same name. Thus there are divergent views about the date of this author and his identity. His date is to be probably fixed as 6th century A.D. as the lower limit and 13th century as the upper limit from the available evidences.

Nītidviṣaṣṭikā[2] of Sundara Pāṇḍya is in 120 verses and in Āryā metre. These verses give us instructions on several aspects of human life in a succinct manner. His ideas on dharma, patience, charity, the greatness of knowledge, polite and sweet speech, necessity for gọod company, the proper use of wealth etc., are presented in a simple style without overemphasis.

A few of his verses may be noticed here. On good speech he says thus:

śabdārtha sūkṣma vasanā satyābharaṇā vicitra hetvaṅgī
vidvan mukha niṣkrāntā sustrīva virājate vānī. *(9)*

(Speech that comes from the mouth of a learned man is like a noble lady for whom words and senses are the fine silken dress, truth is the ornament and beautiful structure is the body.)

Inter-woven with mythology he speaks in a verse about the wicked man thus:

paravāde daśānanaḥ pararandhra nirīkṣaṇe sahasrākṣaḥ
sadvṛtta vitta haraṇe bāhusahasra arjuno nīcaḥ *(lll)*

(The wicked person is like the ten-headed Rāvaṇa in speaking ill of others, in finding out the faults of others, he is like the thousand-eyed Indira, and in stealing others's well-earned money, he acts like the thousand-armed Kārtavīrya.)

Another verse of his on good men says that they never become harsh even under calamities, when engaged in helping others. They are like the sandal-wood tree, which imparts its sweet smell to the axe which cuts it

sujano na yāti vairam para hita nirato vināśa kāḷe api
chede api candana taruḥ surabhayati mukhaṁ kuṭhārasya. (78)

(cf.) Mūturaī 28

Some of the verses stress the necessity for avoiding the company of the bad.

mūrkhāḥ na draṣṭavyāḥ draṣṭavyāś ced taistu saha
na tiṣṭhet (19) etc.

This finds a parallel in the following verse from *Mūturai* (9)

tīyāraik kāṇpatuvum tītē tiruvaṟṟa
ṯīyār col kēṭpatuvum tītē tīyār
kuṇankaḷuraippatuvuṁ tītē avarō-
ṭiṇaṅ kiyirup patavum tītē

Another verse which bears similarity to a *Mūturai*, (23) verse is:

pāṣāṇeṣviva rekhā mūrkhe vairaṁ dṛḍhaṁ ciram bhavati etc. (64)

Cf. *kalpiḷavōṭu oppār kayavar kaṭumciṉattu*
poṉpiḷavōṭu oppārum polvāre vilpiṭittu
nīr kiḻiya eyta vaṭuppōl māṟumē
cīroḻuku cāṉṟōr cinam.

Such parallelisms are found in a few other verses also.

Sundara Pāṇḍya's work proves the poet's ability to bring home to us in simple and elegant verses the necessity for adopting the good things and avoiding the bad and upholding the best code of human conduct.

MAHENDRAVARMAN I

Mahendravarman I, the Pallava King who ruled between 610-30 A.D occupies an important place in South Indian Cultural History. It was during his time that the rock-cut shrines of Mahabalipuram were carved out. There were also intense religious activities going on in South India during this period. Daṇḍin and his ancestors were attached to the Pallava Court. The Kings themselves were poets and patrons of literature.

Mahendravarman himself was a poet of no mean order. He was the author of a play of the *prahasana* type. The Māmaṇḍūr inscription refers to the *Mattavilāsa*, a *prahasanottama* and *Bhagavadajjukīya*.

Of these two *Mattavilāsaprahasana*[3] is by Mahendravarman I as is clear from the prologue to the play.[4] This *prahasana* criticizes the Kāpālikas, the Pāśupatas and the Buddhabhikṣus[5]. In spite of the efforts of great saints like Appar and Jñānasambandhar to popularise and stabilise Śaivism, there were also the growth of debased Śaivite sects like the Kāpālikas and the Pāśupatas. The then pravalent condition made the royal author write a play pointing out the corrupt practices of these sects.

Satyasoma, a Kāpālika and his wife Devasomā go to a tavern at Kañcī. After having drunk there, for receiving alms he wants the bowl (*kapāla*) which he finds missing. Then both of them go about searching for it. On the way they meet a Buddhabhikṣu, Nāgasena, whom they suspect to have stolen the bowl. An argument arises between them, the Kāpālika criticising the Bhikṣu, Buddha and his tenets. A scuffle follows and the Kāpālika raises a hue and cry, calling the Bhikṣu a thief. At this juncture a Pāśupata ascetic, Babhrukalpa, steps in. He too is requested to mediate. The Pāśupata brags, exhibiting his knowledge of logic, while the Kāpālika continues spurning the Bhikṣu and extolling his system. As no mediation is possible the Pāśupata suggests that they go to the court for decision. Then enters a lunatic following a dog that had stolen the bowl in which pieces of meat were sticking. He takes back the bowl. He tries to hand over the same to the Pāśupata, who asks him to give it back to the Kāpālika, the real owner.

The vows to be observed by the Kāpālikas and the Buddhists, the description of Kāñci, observation on wine as captivating as music, comparison of the tavern with the place of sacrifice, statements about the Kāpālika system, the description of the begging bowl and the *gośṛṅga* - all these occurring in this *prahasana* are note-worthy[6].

The play adopts almost the technique of Bhāsa's plays and is popular in Kerala where it is staged by the hereditary actors for the *Kūḍiyāṭṭam*. The different characters are drawn true to life. The style is simple and it reminds us of earlier poets. The character of the lunatic resembling that of Śakāra of Bhāsa's *Cārudatta* provides humour. The play is devoid of blatant vulgarity. Mahendravarman's cautious presentation of the situations and his pointed observations on the debased sects deserve our attention.

The other farce, *Bhagavadajjukīya*[7], referred to in the Māmandūr inscription, is of doubtful authorship. Whether it is by Mahendravarman cannot be said with certainity. A commentary on this work ascribes it to Bodhāyanakavi[8].

This play is based on the motif of *parakāyapraveśa*. Śāṇḍilya first embraces Buddhism and leaves it being unable to follow the discipline. He becomes the disciple of a *Parivrājaka*. While on their way they enter a garden where an *Ajjukā* (courtesan) Vasantasenā, comes to meet her paramour. Sāṅḍilya gets enamoured of her and shows his eagerness to talk with her. The recluse chides him. By a mistake, the *Ajjukā's* life is taken away by a *Yamabhaṭa* (messenger of Yama). To teach a lesson to his disciple the recluse enters the lifeless body of the *Ajjukā* and behaves in a funny manner. The *Yamabhaṭa* comes and releases the life of the *Ajjukā* into the body of the recluse, just to play for a while. The recluse behaves like an *Ajjukā* and the *Ajjukā* like a recluse which gives the title of the play *Bhagavadajjukīya*. After a while things are set in order by the proper transfer of the souls.

The *prahasana* (satire) also abounds in humorous situations like the quack-doctor trying to cure the *Ajjukā* from snake-bite and Śāṇḍilya exhibiting his love for the *Ajjukā*. This play too has a great appeal as a theme for the *Kūḍiyāṭṭam*.[9]

It is also clear that the king was a good scholar in the art of music. There are inscriptional evidences to prove this. The Māmanḍūr inscription[10] which refers to *Gāndharvaśāstra* (music) in the first line mentions some musical terms:

> *aprāptapūrvan nirveṣṭum vādyaśravaṇa ..... kṛtavatiya* and *kaṇṭhaśrutiguṇavāsadhāraṇāsampadā*.[11]

This probably refers to some innovations made in the field of music.

The followig line in the inscription deserves attention

kalpāt pravibhajya ..... vṛttim
dakṣiṇacitrākhyam ..... kṛtvā yathāvidhi

The references made here are to the three *mārgas* or *vṛttis*: *dakṣiṇa*, *citra* and *vārttika*[12], in vocal and instrumental music.

One of the titles of this royal poet is Sankīrṇajāti.[13] This refers probably to the king being an expert in a mixed *rāga*, wherein traces of two or more *rāgas* are discernible or a new combination of two music systems is visible. These inscriptions are found at Kuḍimiyamalai,[14] and Tirumayyam.[15] These inscriptions give out some combination of *svaras* (notes) which look like exercises for

practising music lessons. At the end of the Kuḍumiyaṃalai inscription it is recorded thus:

> *Rudrācārya śiṣyeṇa paramāmaheśvareṇa rā(jña) śiṣya hitārtham kṛtaḥ svarāgamaḥ.*

DAṆḌIN

Daṇḍin the well-known author of *Kāvyādarśa (KD)* and *Daśakumāracarita (DKC)* is one of the foremost scholars in the field of Sanskrit literature, combining in himself the poet and the critic. The discovery of his *Avantisundarīkathā (ASK)* in the beginning of this century helps us to know details about his ancestry, life and date. Several stray verses are ascribed to Daṇḍin and anecdotes making him a contemporary of Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti[16] are found in the *Bhojaprabandha*. Though these have no historical value, they are significant in showing the popularity of Daṇḍin and the high esteem in which he was held by later writers[17].

In the introductory portion of *Avantisundarīkathā*, Daṇḍin refers to many early authors and works and gives details about his ancestry. According to this account Daṇḍin's great grandfather, Dāmodara hailed from Acalapura in Gujarat and was a close friend of Bhāravi. Through the latter's influence he befriended the Cālūkya King Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana. While accompanying the King, Dāmodara was once forced to take meat and as an expiation for the sin he went on a pilgrimage to a holy place (*Tīrthayātrā*). During his wanderings he met the Gaṅga King Durvinīta and became attached to his court. Siṁhaviṣṇu, the Pallava ruler at Kāñcī, heard about Dāmodara and invited him to Kāñcī and patronised him by giving him a *Brahmadeya* village and several other gifts.

Daṇḍin's great grandfather Dāmodara was a great scholar of merit. Once he sent songs in Prākṛt to Siṁhaviṣṇu. He wrote two works, *Gandhamādana* and a *Lakṣaṇagrantha* for Sanskrit and Prākṛt kāvyas.[18]

Dāmodara had three sons Siṁhaviṣṇu, Manoratha and Atilobha. To Manoratha was born Dāmodara, Bhavadāsa, Siṁhaviṣṇu and Vīradatta. The last one Vīradatta married Gaurī of Māṭharagotra. Daṇḍin was their son, born after the birth of many daughters. Daṇḍin lost his mother while yet a child. Brought up by his father, he had his initiation at the age of seven. His father too died after this. In the meantime the Dramiḷa, Coḷa and Pāṇḍya countries were attacked by enemies[19], and Daṇḍin left this strife-ridden part of the country. During his wanderings he stayed at several *gurukulas* and continued learning. He returned to Kāñcī afer peace was restored in these regions.

Daṇḍin's Friends

Avantisundarīkathā refers to several friends of Daṇḍin. Lalitālaya, the architect was the son of Māndhātā, capable of constructing *yantras* or mechanical contrivances. Māndhātā had put down even the Yavanas by his skill in making the *yantras.* (*asya kila pitrā yavanānyapyatiśayānena*)[20]. Lalitālaya was also an architect of high calibre. He is praised as having constructed several types of mechanical contrivances. He built a machine which was capable of breaking the heads of several elephants simultaneously by a shower of pestle-like-arrows. He had mended the broken arm of the idol of Viṣṇu at the shore temple of Māmallapuram. He was capable of making six kinds of mechanical contrivances: the *sthita*, stationary; *cara*, mobile ones; *dhārā* spouting water; dīpa, probably lamps and *jvara*, heating apparatus and *vyāmiśra* (mixed). He could build ninety-six kinds of temples or mansions: *Ṣaṇṇavatiprāsādavidhiviśārada*[21]. He is referred to here as the author of *Śūdrakakathā* in Tamil (*Dramiḍabhāṣā*): *Dramiḍabhāṣayā Śūdrakaraci* (*carita*) *tamupanibaddham*[22]. At his invitation Daṇḍin goes to Māmallapuram for having a look at the mended arm of Viṣṇumūrti.

Raṇamalla was the son of a general and his playmate. It was he who induced Daṇḍin to visit Mahābalipuram[23].

Bhavarāta is referred to here as the author of a commentary on *Kalpasūtra.*

Mātṛdatta was the son of Bhavarāta. He was well-versed in the Vedas, Vedāṅgas and the art of poesy.[24]

Prof. S.Venkitasubramonia Iyer[25] identifies this Mātṛdatta as the father of Bhavatrāta who wrote a commentary on *Jaiminīyasūtra* [26]. But this identity is not certain as Mātṛdatta's father's name is given as Bhavarāta in *Avantisundarīkathā*, whereas Hastiśarman is the name of the father of Mātṛdatta as given in *Jaiminīyasūtravṛtti.*

Devaśarman, (Śrī) Jayanta[27], Nārāyaṇa and Bhajanānanda are mentioned as having come from Kerala.Rāmaśarman of Viśvāmitragotra was a native of the Cola country. He appears to be one who delighted in the enjoyment of Kathā and *Itihāsa* and skilled in the fine-Arts[28].

Daṇḍin's Date

Prior to the discovery of *Avantisundarīkathā* there was much difference of opinion among scholars regarding the date of Daṇḍin. He was considered to have lived during the 6th cent A.D. Prof Kane was of the view that Daṇḍin

lived about 600-680 A.D. and must have been an elder contemporary of Bhāmaha[29].

As Daṇḍin refers to the Prākṛt kāvya, *Setubandha*, the upper limit for his date must be 5th cent. Vāmana who lived about 779-813 A.D. refers to Daṇḍin. So Daṇḍin must have flourished between the 6th and 8th centuries.

The life account given in *Avantisundarīkathā* makes Dāmodara a contemporary of Durvinīta, the Gaṅga King who ruled from 540 to 600 A.D. Siṁhaviṣṇu, his patron and Pallava ruler reigned at Kāñci between 580 and 610 A.D[30]. Hence Daṇḍin must have flourished in the second half of the 7th cent. The relative chronology of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin has been discussed by scholars like A.B.Keith, P.V. Kane[31] and A. Sankaran[32]. The theories that they criticise each other or that one aspect of poetics described by one rhetorician is not found in the other, need not be taken into account for fixing up their contemporaneity. The view advocated by V. Raghavan that Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin had before them, two different traditions on which they built up their schools of thought appears logical[33]. Now with the discovery of *Avantisundarīkathā*, it is clear that Daṇḍin who flourished in the seventh century is later than Bhāmaha who lived in the 6th cent[34].

Identity of Daṇḍin

Dr. J. Agashe putting forth the theory of three Daṇḍins says that the author of *Kāvyādarśa* is different from that of *Daśakumāracarita*.[35] This is based upon the view that the language and style of the two texts do not bear any similarity as the former propounds refined notions about style and emphasises correct use of language, whereas the latter romance is full of vulgar expressions and errors in the use of language. This is not so. The main purpose of *Kāvyādarśa* is for defining a Mahākāvya, the different varieties of kāvyas, figures of speech and flaws in poetry. The author has tried his best to stand within the norms prescribed by him while giving examples in *Kāvyādarśa*. *Daśakumāracarita* is a romance based upon the stories of adventures of princes, interwoven with other eipsodes drawn both from the higher and lower strata of society. To paint these characters taking part in the different narrations, the author quite naturally has to follow the colour of the characters he is handling and the language in which they spoke. A comparison between the style and language of these two works cannot be made use of for proving their common authorship. If it is felt that Daṇḍin has crossed the limits prescribed by him for a standard prose work this too cannot hold good. While in *Kāvyādarśa* he puts forth his ideas on poetry and poetics, the romance reveals him as a poet. Prose literature had already

developed during this period. The ornate style of the prose works of Bāṇa and Subandhu cannot be overlooked. So to carve a niche for himself in the field of literature, especially *Gadyakāvya*, he too had to exhibit his skill in describing the different aspects of society, seasons and so on. To achieve this he had to follow a style which could stand on a par with that of his predecessors. Hence both of these works differ in style.

Daṇḍin's works

The oft-quoted verse of Rājaśekhara indicates that Daṇḍin wrote three works, *Daśakumāracarita*, *Avantisundarīkathā* and *Kāvyādarśa*.

Apart from this, verses of his are found quoted in the anthologies. *Sṛṅgāraprakāśa* of Bhoja quotes from his *Dvisandhānakāvya*. The probability of *Chandoviciti* and *Kalāpariccheda* being his works is ruled out. The former is only a reference to an early treatise of another author. The latter might be a missing section of *Kāvyādarśa*.

Avantisundarikathā

This *Gadyakāvya* begins with the praise of earlier authors and works: The *Rāmāyana*, the *Mahābhārata*, Subandhu, *Bṛhatkahtā*, a work in which figure Nārāyaṇadatta, Devadatta and Mūladeva, Śūdraka, Bhāsa, Śarvasena and his *Harivijaya;* Kālidāsa, Nārāyaṇa and his three works; Bāṇa and Mayūra, Dhavala and his work *Manovatī* and a poet of Dāmodara's family[36]. The work also gives a description of the river Vegavatī, the city of Kāñci, Siṁhaviṣṇu's reign, the arrival of Dāmodara at the Pallava Court, besides Daṇḍin's ancestors and his birth.

The divine origin of the work is given thus: Lalitālaya, the architect invites Daṇḍin to see the mended arm of Viṣṇu-image at the shore-temple in Māmallapuram. Persuaded by his friends he goes there in their company and finds out that the broken arm of the image has been skilfully mended. He pays high compliments to Lalitālaya for this.

At this juncture a supernatural event takes place. A red-lotus of much fragrance appears in the ocean, and touches the feet of the Viṣṇu image, gets transformed into a divine being and disappears. Seeing this Daṇḍin thinks that a sage must have cursed a divine being and the end of the curse must have come then. Reflecting on this he comes back to Kāñci, the place of his stay. In a dream he sees Goddess Sarasvatī who blesses him and asks him to write the story of Vidyādhara Rājavāhana whose release from a curse was witnessed by him.

The story of Rājahaṁsa, father of Rājavāhana is then given. Rājahaṁsa, the ruler of Magadhā, defeats Mānasāra, the Mālava ruler, but replaces him on the throne. The Magadha king employs a spy to follow the movements of the Mālava ruler. One day the spy comes and informs Rājahaṁsa that Mānasāra has obtained a mace from Śiva and is preparing for war against Magadhā. Much against the wish of the ministers Rājahaṁsa goes on an expedition against Mānasāra. Then follows a battle between the two rulers at Prayāgā. Rājahaṁsa is defeated and his horses take him to a place of safety in the Vindhya forest, where his wife and ministers had taken shelter.

The Mālava ruler, without becoming haughty over the victory, appreciates the valour of Rājahaṁsa. He treats honourably the Videha and Anga rulers as his guests. Later on he instals his son Darpasāra as King. Darpasāra in turn entrusts the kingdom to his brother-in-law Caṇḍavarman and goes to Kailāsa for performing penance to become a universal monarch. Rājahaṁsa takes to a life of austerity and stays in the hermitage of Vāmadeva. His queen gives birth to Rājavāhana, the hero of the story of *Avantisundarīkathā*. His ministers and the priest also beget issues. In course of time the sons of the other ministers are also brought there. Rājavāhana and his nine other companions become educated in all the branches of learning.

On the advice of sage Vāmadeva, Rājavāhana goes on an expedition of the quarters. In the Vindhyā forest they come across a brahmin. Then Nityogra and Mahogra's story is given followed by the story of Mandākinī, Namuci's daughter.

The work ends abruptly with the story of Kādambarī which again is not complete. Avantisundarī's marriage with Rājavāhana and the adventures of the princes are all missing.

Avantisundarīkathā is generally considered to be the preliminary part of *Daśakumāracarita* proper omitting the Purvapīṭhikā and the Uttarapīṭhikā available at present. But D.K. Gupta considers that the latter was written when Daṇḍin was yet a youth and the former later. He adds that Daṇḍin wrote four works viz., *Daśakumāracarita*, *Avantisundarīkathā* and *Dvisandhānakāvya* which are referred to as the three *prabhandhas* of Daṇḍin by Rājaśekhara and the *Kāvyādarśa*, the fourth one, on poetics.

Some of the noteworthy topics of *Avantisundarīkathā* are: description of Vasumatī (ASK,edn.pp.23-24); the season Hemanta (p.34); love sports (pp.34-35); observations on old age and death (pp.40-43); Lakṣmīviḍambana appearing as an independent section (pp.44-48); evil omens (pp.52-53); description of the

elephant Hemakūṭa (pp.77-78); the horse Bhadravāhana and the cavalry (91-94, 96-97); the weapons used in war (p.96); the infantry (pp.97-98) (100-01); movements of the divisions of the army (pp. 106-08); Vāmadeva (pp. 142-44); the *sūtikāgṛha* or lying-in chamber (pp. 160-61); story of Indradatta; Vyāḍi and Upavarṣa (pp.180-83); list of ancient dynasties and rulers (pp. 178-79; 182-85); life of Brahmins (pp. 194-96); Śūdraka's story (p.200); polity (pp. 208-09); the islands Kuśa, Krauñca, Sālmali and Gomeda (pp. 212ff); affliction in the hell (pp.229-30); sins and expiatory rites (pp.232-37); the incomplete Kādambarī story (pp. 243ff).

The description of battle, the season and the different varieties of horses and elephants show influence of the earlier writers like Bāṇa and Subandhu. Daṇḍin goes a step further than those two writers in the minute analysis of the incidents or descriptons which he handles. For example while giving an account of the cavalry, he mentions that the horses were got from different countries like Kāmboja, Sindhu, Gāndhāra, Kāśmira and Yavana[37]. Then he describes how they were trained in riding and how they were used in the wars[38]. The technical terms he uses regarding the different movements of the horses like *prakīrṇottara, vellita, simhagata*, etc.[39], show his intimate acquaintance with *aśvaśāstra*. Thus at different places in *Avantisundarīkathā* he fully exhibits his knowledge in several fields, like *Gajaśāstra*, botany, *ratnaśāstra*, *dharmaśāstra* and so on. Loaded with the long descriptions, the work proceeds at a leisurely pace unlike *Daśakumāracarita* in which the narrative element is dominant.

Daṇḍin must have been an eye-witness to several battles when the Pallava country was in war with the Cālūkyas. This influence is found in the description of battles. The Pallavas were great lovers of elephants and their army consisted of a good number of horses and elephants. This fact is borne out by their several copper plate grants and especially the Kuram Copper plate. The place Kuram is near Kāñcī. This grant issued by Paramesvaravarman I (669-90) describes beautifully the fight between the Cālūkyas and the Pallavas. The description though very brief appears similar to that of the battle described in *Avantisundarīkathā* [40].

Daśakumāracarita available at present contains a *pūrvapīṭhikā*, the text proper and an *Uttarapīṭhikā*. The *pūrvapīṭhikā* is (1) found in the printed editions of *Daśakumāracarita* (2) *Purvavṛttāntadarśana* ascribed to Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa and in three *Ucchvāsas*. (3) and another one in verse in three chapters by Vināyaka. The conclusion or the *Uttarapīṭhikā* is found in four versions: (1) the *Uttarapīṭhikā* without any chapter division (2) *Daśakumāracaritasāra* in four *Ucchvāsas* by

Cakrapāṇi Dīkṣita (3) a ninth *Ucchvāsa* by Padmanābha (4) a continuation by Gopinātha Kavirāja.

The story in brief runs thus: the introductory part, the *Purvapīṭhikā* begins with the encounter between Rājahaṁsa, the Magadha ruler and Mānasāra, the King of Mālava. Rājahaṁsa wounded and defeated in the battle is brought to the Vindhyā regions where Vasumatī, his queen had already taken shelter. There she gives birth to Rājavāhana; and his ministers who had followed him also beget sons. Five other young boys also are brought there. The prince Rājavāhana, along with his nine companions, gets educated. On the advice of a sage Vāmadeva, all the ten young men start on a *Digvijaya*. While on the way, the prince goes to the nether regions for assisting the brahmin Mataṅga in his endeavour to become the monarch of Pātāla. The companions, worried at the sudden disappearance of the prince go in search of him in different directions. Rājavāhana returning and not finding his companions goes to Ujjain where he falls in love with Avantisundarī, the daughter of Darpasāra and arranging a fake marriage gets legally married to her. After this, the regular text begins and describes how Darpasāra was killed and Rājavāhana gets united with his other companions. The rest of the story contains the adventures of the companions (This is also not complete as the exploits of eight princes only are narrated). Then an additonal section (*Uttarapīṭhika*) gives an account of the reunion of King Rājahaṁsa and Prince Rājavāhana.

The entire narrative of *Daśakumāracarita* is full of episodes drawn from the life of the royalty to that of the gambler. The stories of Apahāravarman and Arthapāla are full of intrigues. Faithful kings and princes, ladies who are lax in their morals, rogues, thieves, merchant community and harlots figure in this romance. Rightly do the foreign scholars J.J.Meyer and Pischel speak of this work as (Schelmanroman' (Knave's fiction) and Sittenroman (moral fiction))[41]. The supernatural elements are used for explaining away unexpected events. The people's life as obtaining in actual society is portrayed with consummate artistic skill.

The style is simple and elegant and the narrations are racy and beautiful with embellishments. The way the work is written, one story leading to the other gracefully is noteworthy. The unity of the work is maintained throughout though the narrations are by different people.

As the two texts have some common features in the theme, the authorship of Daṇḍin for both cannot be overlooked. Why Daṇḍin chose the same theme for both the works may be explained thus. *Daśakumāracarita* written earlier

was probably recast by the poet with the elaboration of the main theme, after some inspiration or after he was able to gather more details for his work. Hence we find some differences in both the works though there is similarity of language, style and subject-matter.

It is possible that *Avantisundarīkathā* was a prelude to *Daśakumāracarita*[42] as the introduction of the princes is found in the former and the adventures as found in the latter of the ten *kūmaras* must have naturally followed this.

A word as to why *Avantisundarīkathā* was called so. The colophon of the manuscript of this text available in the Travancore University Manuscripts Library runs as follows:

ityācārya daṇḍinā kṛtā avantisundarī kathā samāptā

The following statement is found in the same work:

kathām avantisundarīm ācikhyāsuḥ

Appayya Dīkṣita in his *Nāmasaṅgrahamālā* makes a reference to *Avantisundarīkathā* of Daṇḍin.

ityavantisundarīya daṇḍi prayogāt

These too justify the title of the work as well as the authorship.

In a manuscript of *Daśakumāracarita* the colophon gives Daṇḍin as its author.

iti daṇḍinaḥ kṛtau daśakumāracarite

Abhijñānaśākuntalacarcā gives a passage from *Daśakumāracarita* as from Daṇḍin. This also supports the view about the authorship and the title *Daśakumāracarita*[43].

Avantisundarikathāsāra[44] of later date and unknown authorship supplies us with some omissions found in *Avantisundarīkathā* and *Daśakumāracarita*. This text in the available eight sections brings the narrative upto Upahāravarman's intrigue with Kalpasundarī; which episode is given in the third *ucchvāsa* of *Daśakumāracarita*.

As per tradition Daṇḍin is said to have written three works (*trayo daṇḍi prabandhāśca*). The above works are smaller and bigger versions of the same theme. An account of *Kāvyādarśa* will be given in the section of *Alaṅkāra*. The third one, a Kāvya, is not extant and known only through quotations found in *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*[45].

yathā daṇḍin dhanañjayasya vā dvisandhāna prabandhau rāmāyaṇa mahābhāratārthavan badhnāti:

udāramahimārāmaḥ prajānāṁ harṣa vardhanaḥ /
dharmaprabhava ityāsīt khyāto bharata pūrvajaḥ //
rāmāyaṇa mahābhāratayordaṇḍi dvisandhānamiti

From these quotations it appears to be a śleṣa kāvya giving the stories of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* simultaneously.

KUMĀRADĀSA

Kumāradāsa[46], the well-known author of *Jānakīharaṇa*, a *mahākāvya* was a native of Ceylon[47], but has been very popular in India. He is later than Bhāravi but earlier than Māgha. Some traditions[48] make him a contemporary of Kālidāsa. Kumāradāsa is praised along with Kālidāsa by Rājaśekhara.

jānakīharaṇam kartuṃ raghuvaṁśe sthite sati
kaviḥ kumāradāsaśca rāvaṇaśca yadi kṣamaḥ //[49]

He is referred to in *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* as born blind[50]. He is sometimes identified with Kumāradhātusena (C.517-526 A.D.), son of Maudgalyāyana. In a Madras manuscript of *Jānakīharaṇa*[51], Kumāradāsa's father is given as Mānita,a military official of King Kumāramaṇi. Recently G.K.Godakumara has brought to light a legendary account of the life of Kumāradasa[52], according to which the poet was the son of Māna, and had his education at Kāñcī under poet Daṇḍin and the account also narrates his romance with the Pallava princess and their elopement to Ceylon. It is said, that he wrote another work *Śrī Ghanānandakāvya*, on a Buddhist theme. Though much credence cannot be given to this story, this suggests that Kumāradāsa had some connection with South India and probably with the Pallavas. His verses are quoted in anthologies, in *alaṅkāra* works, in *Jānāśrayī Chandovicitti*, lexicographical works, *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi* and Ujvaladatta's *Uṇādivṛtti* [53].

Jānakīharaṇa[54] is a *mahākāvya* in 20 cantos and has for its theme the abduction of Śītā. It is but quite natural that a poet from Ceylon must have chosen this theme. A Ceylonese (literal) translation is available for this *kāvya*[54a]. The influence of Kālidāsa is found in the handling of the ideas as well as in the general style of this *māhākāvya*. Without too much of an ornate style, Kumāradāsa is moderate in handling the language. He ranks as one of the greatest poets in the field of Sanskrit literature.

Śrīnivāsa (1018 A.D) of Kauṇḍinya gotra of Vīravalli family and Śrīmuṣṇam village was the son of Varadanārāyaṇaguru. His great grandson Veṅkaṭavarada mentions *Anaṅgamaṅgala*[55]; a *bhāṇa* probably written by his great-grandfather.

Sundarakavi whose date may probably be the 12th century A.D. belonged to the family of Āṇḍān and Hastigirinātha and was the brother-in-law of the great Rāmānuja and the nephew of Śrīśailapūrṇa. He also wrote another *Anaṅgamaṅgalabhāṇa*.[56]

Śrīvardhadeva is referred to as a poet in an inscription from Karnataka, dated 1128 A.D.[57] In this inscription there is a verse by Daṇḍin in praise of this poet. Three prominent Jains viz., Pātrakesarin, Śrīvarddhadeva and Akalaṅka are referred to here. If this order refers to their chronology then Śrīvarddhadeva must have lived in the 7th century. Also their associations with Dramiḷa Saṅgha makes one consider him as a Southerner belonging to Tamil Nadu.

He is said to be the author of the work *Cūḍāmaṇi*. Whether this is a mahākavya or otherwise is not known. The identity of the author is also not very clear. M. Arunachalam takes him to be identical with Toḷāmolippulavar, the author of the *Mahākāvya Cūḍāmaṇi*[58]. A few others consider him as the author of the commentary (Kannada) *Cūḍāmaṇi* on the Digambara *āgama Mahākarmaprakṛtiprābhṛta*[59].

Garuḍavāhana Bhaṭṭa (I) who lived in the 1257 A.D. was a resident of Pāṇḍamaṅgalam, which was gifted to him for his work *Raṅgaghoṣaṇaprabandha*[60] a *kāvya* in praise of Lord Raṅganātha of Śrīraṅgam. This work belongs to the *Kṣudraprabandha* variety.

Garuḍavāhana Bhaṭṭa (II), who was also known as Kavivaidyapurandara or Śrīnivāsakavi was a descendant of Garuḍavāhana Bhaṭṭa (I). He was the son of Alagiyamaṇavāla of the Bhaṭṭālkottu of Śrīraṅgam temple.

Śri *Yatirāja Vijayam* or *Vedānta Vilāsa*[61], was composed by Śrī Vātsya Varadācārya. The author was the fifth descendent of Vātsya Varadācārya[62] or Ammāl and belonged to the 14th-15th centuries.He hailed from Kāñcī. He was the son of Ghaṭikācala Sudarśana. This work tries to establish the superiority of Rāmānuja's system over others. The hero is Veda Mauli. Epics and Dharmaśāstras are all presonified as Sumati, Sunīta and others. Thus the drama belongs to the allegorical class and contains six Acts. Qualified non-dualism (*Viśiṣṭādvaita*) is praised as a great system. The author is an accomplished scholar in *Tarka*, *Vyākaraṇa* and *Vedānta*. The poetic skill of the author Vātsya Varadācārya is fully exhibited in this work and is rich in philosophic content.

Some of his other works are *Ammāḷ Bhāṇa* or *Vasantatilakabhāṇa* which abounds in the description of magic shows, snake charmers and the like. The other two works are *Rukmiṇī pariṇayacampū* [63] and *Laksmīśataka*[64].

Campakeśācārya[65], who belonged to the family of Toḷappa and Saumitrideśika lived in 15th cent. A.D. He was the son of the pupil of (Kauśika) Varadācārya. His contributions to Viśiṣṭādvaita religion and philosophy were vast and varied. He was the author of the following works: *Vedāntakaṇṭakoddhāra*[66]; *Taptamudrādhāraṇa (aṅkaṇa) pramāṇasaṅgraha*[67]; *Vādārtharatnamālā*[68] and *Harikarṇāmṛta*[69]. Besides a prose *kāvya* based on the Rāmāyaṇa story, a *prabandha* also is attributed to him in *Vādārtharatnamālā*.

Avadhāna Sarasvatī[70], who flourished during the 15th cent. A.D. belonged to Atrigotra or Ātreyagotra. He was a resident of Makṣikāraṇya (Īk Kāṭṭu taṅgal), in Tuṇḍīramaṇḍala. He was the son of Ekāmranātha, who wrote works on medicine. Avadhāna Sarasvatī was the author of the *Śṛṅgārajīvanabhāṇa*[71].

Tātadeśika or Tātārya or Tātayārya (1526-67 A.D.)[72], was the teacher of Upaniṣad Bhāṣyakāra Raṅgarāmānuja. He was patronised by the ruler of Candragiri. Tātadeśika composed *Pañcamatabhañjana*[73] criticising the views of Saivites, on the import of the term Nārāyaṇa and tries to maintain the supremacy of God Viṣṇu. *Sītānandanāṭaka*[74] in 9 Acts was written by him. This was staged at the *caitra* festival of Komalavallī and Viṣṇu at Kumbhakoṇam.

(Ayyā) Kumāra Tātācarya or Śrīśaila Śatakratu Kumāra Tātācārya of Śaṭhamarṣaṇagotra, belonged to Śrīśailapūrṇa's family. He originally hailed from Nāvalpākkam and stayed at Kumbhakonam and Tanjore. He was brought by King Acyutappa Naik (1571-1614 A.D.) from Nāvalpākkam to Tanjore. He was the religious preceptor of Acyutappa Nāyak and Raghunātha Nāyak[75]. From Tātācārya's son Pāṭṭarācārya's eulogies on his father, we can gather that a number of works were written by his father, of which many are attributed to his patron Raghunātha Nāyak. He wrote *Acyutaendrābhyudaya*[76], a commentary[77] on *Campūbhārata* of Agastyabhaṭṭa, *Pārijātanāṭaka* [78] and *Rāmāyaṇa kathāsāra*[79].

Pārijātaharaṇanāṭaka is in 5 Acts. In the prologue to this play, the author is referred to as the expounder of the science of Grammar, and the systems of philosophy as *Vaiśeṣika*, *Sāṅkhya* and *Viśiṣṭādvaita*. The main story of the play deals with Nārada giving the Pārijāta flower to Satrājit, Narakāsuravadha, getting the Pārijāta from the heavens, the description of different regions of earth etc. This play was presented at the Mahānavamī festival conducted by Raghunātha Nāyak.

Acyutendrābhyudaya of his is on King Acyutappa Nāyak of Tanjore. But this work is attributed to his patron in *Saṅgita sudhā*[80] and *Sāhityaratnākara*[81]. The author's son Pāttrācārya refers to this as his father's in his eulogy, *Kumāra tātayārya vaibhava prakāśikā*. Besides these he wrote *Rāmāyaṇakathāsāra*[82], probably same as *Rāmāyaṇakathāsaṅgraha* ascribed to Raghunātha Nāyak and a commentary on *Bhāratacampū*[83] of Ananta Bhaṭṭa.

Pāṭṭarācārya *alias* Veṅkaṭācārya, was the son of Śrīśailaśatakratu Tātayārya[84] referred to above. He wrote *Ayyākumāratātadeśikamaṅgala*[85] on his father Śrīśaila Śatakratu Caturvedi Tātārya, of Navalpākkam, Tanjore and Kumbhakonam. He also composed *Kumāratātayārya vaibhavaprakāśikā*[86] on his father. There is a mythical account of the origin of the Nāyak rulers, of Tātācarya becoming the preceptor of Acyuta, his stay at Tanjore and Kumbhakonam, his acts of charity and the works of his sons[87] as well as his own compositions. His drama *Raghunandanavilāsa* is on the life of Rāma. He also wrote a few works in the Viśiṣṭādvaita field.

Vedāntārya, a native of Madura, was the pupil of Sūryanārāyaṇa, who also belonged to Madura. He was the son of Veṅkaṭārya of Bhāradvājagotra. Since the author refers to Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita he must have lived during the 16th-17th centuries. He too wrote a *bhāṇa* named *Śṛṅgārasarvasvabhāṇa*[88]. This was presented at the Vasantotsava of Śrīnivāsa at Tirupati.

Varadācārya (Kavi) was a close relative of one Tātācārya who belonged to Ātreyagotra. He was the paternal uncle of Veṅkaṭācārya, who wrote *Viśvaguṇādarśa* campū. He must have flourished during the 16th cent. A.D. He was the son of Śrīnivāsa who performed the Vājapeya sacrifice. He was also the author of a *bhāṇa*, *Anaṅgajīvanabhāṇa*[89], which was staged at the spring festival of Devarāja of Kāñcī on the love of Vasantikā and Vasantaśekhara.

Ratnakheṭa Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita was an important figure in the field of Sanskrit. From him descended scholars of great calibre of whom the contribution of a few scholars are given here. He was the son of Śrī Bhavasvāmin and grandson of Kṛṣṇa belonged to Viśvāmitra gotra. He was patronised by Sūrappa Nāyak (1554-67 A.D.) of Gingee who hailed from Satyamaṅgalam. Since he described the evening horizon as an armour he got the title '*Ratnakheṭa*'[90]. He had several titles : *Advaitavidyācārya, Ṣaḍbhāṣācatura, Abhinava Bhavabhūti*[91] and *Daṇḍidyoti divāpradīpa*[92]. He had three sons [93]Keśava, Ardhanārīśvara and Rājacūḍāmaṇi. He was a prolific writer and is said to have written 18 plays and 60 poems. Bālayajña Vedīśvara in his introductory verse of the commentary on *Rukmiṇīpariṇaya* gives a list of his works.

Among the available works, *Śitikaṇṭhavijaya* is a *kāvya* in which Śiva's wonderful acts are described. Damayantī's marriage forms the theme for the drama, *Bhaimīpariṇaya*[94] and Rukmiṇī's marriage for the *Bhai(ṣ)mīpariṇayacampū*[95]. *Bhāvanāpuruṣottama* is an allegorical play by Ratnakheṭa. This was composed at the instance of his patron.

Besides these he has contributed to the fields of philosophy and rhetorics.

Rājacūḍamaṇi Dīkṣita was the illustrious son of Ratnakheṭa Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita. His contribution to the various fields of Sanskrit Literature was remarkable. His versatality and knowledge are revealed through his several treatises. He was the disciple of his elder step-brother Ardhanārīśvara. He was patronised by King Raghunātha Nāyak (1614 A.D.) of Tanjore, on whom he wrote the poem *Raghunāthabhūpavijaya*.

The following works are referred to in the Introduction to *Kāvyadarpaṇa*[96]

(1) *Yajuśśākhāvyākhyā*

(2) *Daśopaniṣadvyākhyā*

(3) *Śāstradīpikāvyākhyā Karpūravārttika*

(4) *Dvādaśalakṣaṇīvyākhyā*

(5) *Tantraśikhāmaṇi*

(6) *Saṅkarṣamuktāvalī*

(7) *Prāyaścittapradīpikā*

(8) *Rucidatta vṛtti Nyāyacūḍāmaṇi*

(9) *Cintāmaṇidarpaṇa*

(10) *Śṛṅgārasarasvabhāṇa*

(11) *Yuddhakāṇḍa of Campū Rāmāyana*

(12) *Bhāratacampū*

(13) *Vṛttaratnāvali*

(14) *Ratnakheṭa vijaya*

(15) *Mañjubhāṣiṇī nāma Rāmakathā*

(16) *Rāmakṛṣṇa dharma bhuvām kathātrayī*

(17) *Śaṅkarārya tārāvali.*

Tantraśikhāmaṇi[97] is a commentary on *Jaiminisūtras*. This was composed in 1636 A.D.

dhīmān mānyaś śakasyābde hāyane ca svarābhidhe
śrāvaṇa māsi navāhne pūrṇas tantraśikhāmaṇiḥ.

Rukmiṇīkalyāṇa[98] a poem in ten cantos, gives a description of Dvārakā, then love-in-separation of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, arrival at Kuṇḍinapura of Śrī Kṛṣṇa on hearing the mental anguish of Rukmiṇī, carrying her off to Dvārakā, entry of Kṛṣṇa and Rukmiṇī into Dvārakā, marriage of Kṛṣṇa and Rukmiṇī and description of different seasons.

Śaṅkarābhyudaya[99] is on the life of Jagadguru Ādiśaṅkara. Only six cantos of this work are available.

Kāvyadarpaṇa refers to *Bhāratacampū*. *Kaṁsavadha*, *Sāhityasāmrājya*, *Citramañjarī*, *Śṛṅgārasarvasvabhāṇa* and *Rāmakathā* are his other important works. The last one which has been referred to above appears to be a *trisandhānakāvya*.

Ratnakheṭavijaya or *Rāghava-Pāṇḍava-Yādavīya* is a *Yamaka* poem based on the stories of Rāma, Kṛṣṇa and Pāṇḍava.

To *Rāmāyaṇacampū* of Bhoja, Rājacūḍāmaṇi Dīkṣita added *Yuddhakāṇḍa*[100].

Based on the *Rāmāyaṇa* he wrote *Ānandarāghava* [101] a drama in five Acts. This drama deals with the story of Rama from his marriage upto his coronation.

Kamalinīkalahaṁsa[102] is a drama in four Acts. The theme is the marriage of Kalahaṁsa with Kamalinī, the daughter of Kamalākara who was rescued from a storm. This play is said to have been staged at the court of Raghunātha Nāyak at Tanjore and also during his visit to Cidambaram.

Rāmacandra Dīkṣita was the 5th in descent from Ratnakheṭa Śrīnivāsa Dikṣita. He must have lived during the latter part of the 17th cent. (Ratnakheṭa - Keśava - Patañjali - Keśava - Rāmacandra). He wrote *Keralābharaṇacampū*[103]. The *campū* is in the form of a conversation between Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra. It describes the merits and demerits of various countries and the holiest and best places in India. The author probably lived in Kerala. According to the author, Kerala is the best part of India.

Veṅkaṭeśa was the son of Śrīnivāsa of Ātreyagotra. Though born at Kāñcī (1595 A.D.) he appears to have had his activities in the North India also. He wrote *Rāmacandrodaya*, a poem based on the *Rāmāyaṇa* theme, in 30 cantos at

Benares in 1635 A.D. He appears to have used several types of *bandhas* like *Muraja*, *Ardhabhramara* and *Sarvatobhadra*[104]. His another poem *Śrīrāma yamakārmava* is in 16 Āśvāsas. There is also another work named *Sudhīvilāsa* written by him.

Pāṇḍyakulodaya[105] is a mahākāvya by Maṇḍalakavi. It was written at the end of the 16th century A.D. This is a historical *kāvya* dealing with the resurgence of the Pāṇḍya race. But it follows the usual pattern of giving the origin of the Pāṇḍyas from the Moon, establishing them as belonging to the lunar race. Several anecdotes like the Pāṇḍyas winning the Kerala ruler, their interest in the building of temples and such other activities are given. The names of the Sthapatis are noted. Several purāṇic allusions are made use of appropriately.

Periappā kavi or Appā Śāstrin was the son of Lakṣmī and Aṇṇāśāstrin or Patañjali sūri. Kṛṣṇānanda Sarasvatī was one of his gurus. He was a great favourite (*parama-premabhājana*) of Śāhaji.

He wrote the drama *Śṛṅgāramañjarīsāhajīya*[106] which was staged at Tiruvaiyāru.

Along with Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita and four others he wrote *Ṣaḍdarśanisiddhāntasaṅgraha*[107].

Cidambara[108] of Kauśikagotra was the son of Anantanārāyaṇa and Veṅkāmbā, who was the daughter of Vedapurīśvara. His paternal grand-father was Sūryanārāyaṇa Dīkṣita and his brother was Śrīnivāsa of Palayūr in Tanjore district. He was patronised by King Sāhaji of Tanjore and King Veṅkaṭa I (1586 - 1614 A.D.) of Vijayanagar.

He wrote a *sandhāna* kāvya, *Kathātrayī*[109] or *Kāvyaratna* or *Bhāgavatarāmāyaṇa* or *Bhāratasāra* or *Rāghava Pāṇḍava Yādavīya* with his own commentary. This work dealt with the story of Rāma, Pāṇḍavas and Kṛṣṇa.

Cidambaravilāsakāvya[110] is in 5 sargas and is on the legends connected with Cidambaram.

Pañcakalyāṇakacampū [111] with auto commentary gives the five stories of the marriage of Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, Subrahmaṇya, Viṣṇu and Śiva.

Bhāgavatacampū [112] is also by Cidambara. *Śabdārthacintāmaṇi*[113], is a *viloma kāvya* on the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Bhāgavata* with his own commentary, *Nikaṣopalā* and *Śleṣacintāmaṇi*[114] with commentary.

From the above account we understand that Cidambara kavi was a versatile scholar who had very good skill in using the language.

Appākavi or Appādhvarin or Appāyajvan of Śrīvatsagotra was the son of Cidambara makhin of Kiḷḷiyūr near Māyāvaram. He was patronised by King Sāhajī (1684-1710 A.D.) of Tanjore. His contributions to the field of *Kāvya* are *Madanabhūṣaṇabhāṇa*[115] and *Gaurīmāyūracampū*[116]. In the *bhāṇa* he refers to his father and his native place.

tāto yasya cidambareśvara iti prakhyātanāmā makhī
yad rātrindivam dattahavyanivahadānaika kṛtyaḥ sūraḥ
śrīvatsānvaya vāridhīndur avasad yaḥ puṇyāagrahāre sudhīr
adya khalu tattanayo gaurīmāyūranagaram adhyāsate.[117]

Śrīnivāsa, a native of Namanasamudra village and protégé of Raghunātha Toṇḍaman (1686-1730 A.D.) of Pudukotta, wrote *Gajāraṇyacampū*[118].

Rāmānuja, son of Saraṇammācārya and grandson of Rāmānuja of Vādhūlagotra lived at Tiruvellore probably during the 17th cent. They were the descendants of Dāśarathī or Mudaliyāṇḍān family, Saraṇammācārya was the 4th in descent from Raṅgarāja, honoured by Kṛṣṇarāya of Vijayanagar (1509-29 A.D). Rāmānuja wrote *Vāsalakṣmīkalyāṇa*[119], which has for its theme the marriage of God Raṅganātha with Vāsalakṣmī, the Goddess of Uraiyūr. This was presented at the vernal festival of God Virarāghava of Tiruvellore. The other works of his are *Vīrarāghavakanakavallīvivāha*, *Vedapādarāmāyaṇa*[120], *Rāmāyaṇacampū* and *Vārdhikanyāpariṇaya*.

Another Rāmānuja, son of Bhavanārāyaṇa who was the brother of Rāmānuja referred to above, wrote *Rāmānujacampū*[121] on the life of Rāmānuja.

Anaṅgabrahmavidyāvilāsabhāṇa[122] was written by Varadācārya (Varadārya), son of Kumāra Veṅkaṭārya of Ātreya gotra. This was staged at the festival at Triplicane.

Śrīraṅga (17th cent.A.D.), son of Bhāvanācārya, younger brother of Rāmānuja (author of *Rāmānujacampū*)[123] fifth ancestor of Śrī Rangarāja was honoured by Kṛṣṇadeverāya. His younger brother was honoured by Rāghavārya, commander under a Pāṇḍya King[124].

He wrote the play *Śṛṅgāraśṛṅgāṭaka* or *Pañcabāṇavijaya*[125].

pāṇḍyākhaṇḍala vāhinī parivṛḍhāś śri rāghavāryāgraṇīḥ
sammāna prathamāvatārasaraṇiḥ vidvat kavigrāmaṇīḥ /
śri rāmānuja campuraṅgadharaṇī dhaureya sīmantinī-
saundarya stuti mukhya satkṛti so ayam jejīyate //

The author says that he and his brother wrote the said work at śrīraṅgam.

Kavirākṣasa or Muddurāma[126] of Kauṇḍinya gotra was the son of Jānakī and Raghunāthādhvarin. He was patronised by King Sāhajī (1684-1710 A.D) of Tanjore. Another poet Periappā Kavi refers to him in his *Śṛṅgāramañjarīsāhajīya*[127]. He seems to have been honoured with fabulous gifts by Sāhajī.

The term *Kavirākṣasa* is explained thus in a *Subhāṣita* work of an Andhra poet Giriappa. The following verse explains how this title is derived:

sākṣareṣu bhavatīha jagatyām sarva eva hṛdi matsaryāyuktāḥ /
sākṣaram kavijaneṣu yadenam loka eṣa kavirākṣasam āha //

Sākṣara means highly learned or eloquent. Out of jealousy people called such a person '*sākṣara*' as *rākṣasa*.[128]

Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita (1684-1711 A.D), a Ṛgvedin, belonged to the family of Caturvedādhvarin and to Kauṇḍinya gotra. *Śṛṅgāratilakabhāṇa* refers to this.

yaścaturveda yajvendra vaṁśa vāridhikaustubhaḥ
yasya kaṇḍaramāṇikya gramo bhavati janmabhūḥ.

Originally he hailed from Kaṇḍaramāṇikya village. He appears to have then settled at Sāharājapura[129]:

sāharāja purasthena vidvatpadābjasevinā

He was the grandson of Nallā Dīkṣita and the eldest of the four sons of Yajñarāma Dīkṣita. His preceptors were Bālakṛṣṇa bhagavatpāda or Kṛṣṇānanda Sarasvatī, Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita and the grammarian Cokkanātha, the author of *Śabdakaumudī*. He married the first daughter of Cokkanātha Makhin.

He was a great devotee of Rāma and this seems to have deepened after he settled at Sāhajīrājapuram. The following verses prove this :

śilāyāmapi caitanyasṛje kauśikaharṣiṇe
kuladevāya gurave astu dharmabhṛte namaḥ[130]
sarvasya lokasya sadā suguptaye
rāmātmako bhāti harīśayor yaḥ
dayāsudhābdhis sa tadātmako me
rāmāh sadā vaktra saroruhe astu.[131]

Rāmabhadra Dikṣita had great regard for Sāhaji's scholarship and generosity. He goes to the extent of comparing the ruler to Rāma and King's parents Ekojī and Dīpāmba to Daśaratha and Kausalyā respectively.

tasmād abhūt daśarathādiva paṅkajākṣaḥ
śrī sāhabhūpa iti śīlitadharmavidyaḥ[132].

The encomium showered on him by his pupils proves the versatality of the scholar and the respect they had for their preceptor. He was hailed as

pratyagra patañjali and dvitīyaprācetas tadetat
pratyagrapatañjalinā dvitīya prācetasena kauṇḍina-
kula maṇḍanena rāmabhadra adhvarīndreṇa vimṛśya
sa śiraḥ ślāgham anumoditam.[133]

Nārāyaṇa, his disciple, calls him *dvitīya vālmīki* in his *prastāvanā* of *Adbhutapañjara.*

Bhūmināṭha in his *Dharmavijayacampū* refers to him thus:

sāhityaratnakośāya śabdabrahmasvarūpiṇe
rāmabhadrāya makhine rāmabhaktyabdhaye namaḥ.

Rāmabhadra Dikṣita wrote the following works:

1. *Patañjalicarita* [134] (a *mahākāvya*).
2. *Jānakīpariṇaya* (a *nāṭaka*)[135].
3. *Śṛṅgāratilakabhāṇa.*[136]
4. *Paribhāṣāvṛttivyākhyāna.*[137]
5. *Ṣaḍdarśanīsiddhāntasaṅgraha.*[138] (compilation by seven authors including Dīkṣita of the six systems of Indian philosophy. Dīkṣita wrote the Vyākaraṇa system).
6. *Śabdabhedanirūpaṇa* - on theories of meaning.[139]
7. *Uṇādimaṇidipikā* - Commentary on Uṇādisūtras.[140]
8. *Rāmacitrastava.*
9. *Rāmacāpastava.*
10. *Rāmabāṇastava* (written at the instance of Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita).
11. *Ācāryastavarājabhūṣaṇa*, devotional eulogy on Kṛṣṇānanda Sarasvatī.
12. *Viśvagarbhastava.*

13. *Rāmastavakarṇarasāyana.*
14. *Rāmaprasādastava* (three parts).
15. *Varṇamālāstava.*
16. *Rāmāṣṭaprāsastava.*
17. *Rāmāyaṇasaṅgrahastotra.* This work is identified with *Rāmastotra*[141]. This *stotra* contains two parts of eight pieces each. The first part is in the form of a *Cūrṇikā.*
18. *Rāmatūṇīrastava* is not traceable.
19. *Śukasandeśa* (suggested by K. Kunjunni Raja in *Uṇādimaṇidīpikā* p.42).
20. *Siddhāntasāra* referred by T.S. Kuppuswami Sastri in *Patañjalicarita.* Therein the following verse is quoted [142].

śrī rāmacandracaraṇau śaraṇam vidhāya prajnata
tattvanivahaḥ kutukāt kṣaṇena! śrī rāmabhadra sukṛtī
kṛtinām hitāya siddhāntasāram idam adbhutam ātanoti !!

In an unexamined collection of paper manuscripts in the Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal Library (K.M. Sundaram Iyer Collection) some works are claimed as Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita's.

The style and contents of the above works are similar to those of the *stotra* works of Rāmabhadra Dikṣita. But the authenticity of taking these works as is to be established only after critically examining the Mss. written by this author and gathering further evidence.

Patañjalicarita, the only *Mahākāvya* of Rāmabhadra Dikṣita keeps upto the norms of the definition. It begins with a description of the Milky ocean and runs to eight cantos containing 539 verses in different metres.

There are descriptions of the cities Cidambaram and Benares,[143] the forest,[144] the spring season,[145] the sun-set,[146] the moon-rise,[147] and so on. The poem deals with the life of Patañjali, his re-birth as Candragupta who becomes *sannyāsin.* Govindasvāmin and the lives of Pāṇini, Bhartṛhari and Saṅkara are interwoven.

The birth of Patañjali as given in this poem is of interest. Patañjali is an incarnation of Ādiśeṣa. Once when Lord Viṣṇu was reclining in the ocean, Ādiśeṣa who was bearing Him felt that the Lord was unusually heavy. The serpent wants to know the cause. Viṣṇu then tells Ādiśeṣa that the ecstasy of His

on seeing Śiva's dance, while He was in the yogic state increased His heaviness. Ādiśeṣa hearing this wants to see the dance of Śiva, Viṣṇu too grants him the boon. Ādiśeṣa goes to the earth. There he sees a lady Goṇikā worshipping God Sun. While she is offering *arghya* he enters the waters and falls to the ground as a hermit boy. Goṇikā feels very happy about this. He is called by the name Patañjali, since he fell from the *añjali-hasta* of Goṇikā. Then he performs a severe penance for getting the grace of Śiva for writing a commentary on Pāṇini's sūtras on grammar and the *Vārttikas* thereon. These graces are granted and the God also agrees to dance for him at Cidambaram. Then he meets Vyāghrapāda, both of whom wait for witnessing Śiva's dance. As promised Śiva appears at Cidambaram and performs His unique dance. Patañjali writes the *Mahābhāṣya* on the *Vārttikas* of *Kātyāyana*. Many scholars come for studying this text. Patañjali curses one of the students who slipped away from the class, to become a goblin. When one of the students pulls away the curtain, from behind while Patañjali was teaching and intrudes in the teaching all the students are destroyed. The student who was away from the discourse becomes a goblin. After teaching Candragupta, the *Mahābhāṣya*, the available portion that student gets back his original form. The story is continued till Candragupta goes to Badarikāśrama and becomes a hermit called Govindasvāmin, to whom comes Śaṅkara and he gets the knowledge about the Supreme Truth.

Dīkṣita's descriptive power is worthy of notice. The dance of Śiva is presented in a style suited to the occasion in *Patañjalicarita* and is full of lilt and cadence.

> *sandadarśa sapadi bhranjjataṭāḍitoḍupamaṇḍalam taḍa janaḥ*
> *vyāḷanūpura raṇatpadārpaṇanyañcitakṣiti naṭeśanartanam*
> *maṇḍala bhranai kīrṇa jāhnañ śīkaraḥ snapitacakra vālakanu*
> *bahuvega pavanabhipūritā krandad āntara digādrikandaram*
>
> *(IV.67.70)*

But at the same time he uses a simple style also.

> *vasanam karicarma vāhanam vṛṣabhaḥ ko'pi vibhūṣanam phaṇī*
> *aśanam viṣam āsikā girau iti citram jagatām tvam īṣiṣe.*

Patañjalicarita seems to be the only work on the life of Patañjali. The poem as such is not of great historical value. The accounts given in *Cidambarasthalapurāṇa* and *māhātmyas* seem to be the basis of the *kāvya*. Candragupta, the one who learns the *mahābhāṣya* from the goblin, is called as Candraśarman in other works. In the rest of the narrative there is not much deviation. As a poetical piece *Patañjalicarita* keeps up to the norms: presenting

beautiful descriptions, handling varieties of sentiments and emotions like happiness, *vairāgya* in the case of Patañjali's penance, *adbhuta* in visualising of the dance of Śiva and the resultant bliss and others.

The dramas of Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita are *Śṛṅgāratilakabhāṇa* (STB) and *Jānakīpariṇaya*.

Of these two, *Śṛṅgāratilakabhāṇa* was presented at the marriage festival of Mināksi with Lord Sundareśvara. In keeping with the nature of *bhāṇa*, there is the presentation of Bhujangaśekhara's encounters with different types of people like harlots, gay-lords and others. Bhujaṅgaśekhara is going in search of his beloved Hemāṅgī, whom he had met on the eighthday festival at Śrīraṅgam. Both love each other and a maid servant Sārikā brings Hemāṅgī and unites her with Bhujaṅgaśekhara. Thus ends the play. But the incidents that occur before the union of the hero and the heroine, have a prominent place in this type of play. There are descriptions of beautiful ladies, a magic show, harlots in conversation with the hero, gambling, a wicked student who is lusty to the extent of enjoying the company of his teacher's widowed daughter, cock fight, goat fight, wrestling, snake-charmer's show and such others. Usually these incidents are of a low type and descriptions and conversations tend even to vulgarity. The only appreciable fact is that a single person has to present all these visually in a skilful manner so that the audience can follow them.

The description of the sun-set and moon-rise implies the theme of illicit love.

dṛṣṭvā proṣitavallabhām kamalinīm tasyām uṣitvā ciram
dattva tam prirambha mūlyavidhāyanilotpalinyai niśi
prāpte sāmpratam ātta raśmipaṭale bhānau ruṣevāruṇe
candraś coravad astabhūdharam api srastāṁśuko dhāvati

Another interesting feature found in the bhāṇas written in South India is *Kalatrapatrikā* a legal document properly signed by witnesses. This document makes a libertine, enter into a contract with his mistress for a fixed period and for a fixed payment. Bhujaṅgaśekhara, hero of *Śṛṅgāratilakabhāṇa*, also executes such a document in favour of Kāñcanalatā. Various types of metres used in the *bhāṇa* proves Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita's mastery over the language. Finally *Kalatrapatrikā* in the work gives a clue to the date of the work (*Śṛṅgāratilakabhāṇa* 109). Probably this work was composed before 1693 A.D.

Jānakīpariṇaya of Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita is a *nāṭaka* in 7 Acts. Several earlier plays on Rāma theme appear to have influenced the poet. Since the

theme of the play is well-known, it is sufficient to point out here a few deviations made by the poet.

(l) Rāvaṇa trying to assume the form of Rāma and going to the *svayaṁvara* of Sītā. This is prevented by Viśvāmitra by inviting Daśaratha and Janaka with their families to his hermitage for the sacrifice.

(2)Virādha and Śūrpaṇakhā who are in love with Śītā and Rāma respectively, assume the forms of Rāma and Sītā without each other's knowledge. The chaos and fun, created by this, provides the reader with the enjoyment of *hāsyarasa.*

Rāma's exile as a result of the wicked device of Kaikeyī and Mantharā, Daśaratha acting under the influence of demons and the presentation of this through *Garbhāṅka* and the coronation of Rāma at Nandigrāma instead of Ayodhyā are a few other deviations by Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita.

In conclusion we can say that Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita has handled the theme carefully, the play is full of action and only interesting episodes have been taken up for presentation. Humour in the play is provided in the scene of comedy of errors where the disguised Virādha and Śūrpaṇakhā elope. One verse which presents the grief of Rāma on the death of Jaṭāyu is noteworthy.

rājyabhraṁśādvipranāśāt pitur naḥ
kāntāre'smin dāruṇe nityavāsāt
sītāyāśc ādarśanādutthito'yam
śokāmbhodhir vardhate tvat kṣayeṇa (VI.34).

But the number of characters in the play are too many and hence it is unworthy of stage-presentation. As a literary production adopting novel techniques in presenting the incidents, the play has its own merits and the author Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita's literary abilities are noteworthy. A verse on this great scholar by a disciple of his, Veṅkaṭeśvara, commentator of *Patañjalicarita* and his disciple can be cited here to show the greatness of Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita.

rāmabhadramakhinām api vācām
rajaśekhara kaver api vācām /
tāratamya kaṇikām api vaktum
nāham asmi kuśalo na paro vā[148] //

Subrahmaṇya Dīkṣita composed *Prayogaviveka* in Tamil in 5l verses. M.Raghava Ayyangar refers to this in his *Peruntokai.*[149]

umbarkuriya prayōka vivekattai
aimbattoru kavitai yān uraittan-cemporcir
mannu madir kurukūr vāl cuppiramaṇiya
nennu moru vetiyan.

This Subrahmaṇya belonged to Kurukūr and followed the Bodhāyana sūtra. In a verse Rāmabhadra is praised thus that he possessed a moon-like face and the author Subrahmaṇya feels much satisfied at having presented the *Prayogaviveka*, Tamil adaptation of Sanskrit Grammar before Dīkṣita and he is not much bothered whether Patañjali listens to it or not. It is interesting to note that Patañjali is referred to as one who hears with his eyes since he is a serpent.

cīr koṇḍa rāmabhadra dīkkitan tanrā nerkoṇṭu
kēṭṭān inik kaṇṇār kēṭkum patañjali tān
kēṭṭāl ēn kēḷākkāl en.[150]

From the prologue to his *Śṛngāratilakabhāṇa*, we come to know of the genealogy of Rāmabhadra given above and his poetic abilities. This bhāṇa was staged at the vernal festival of Goddess Mīnākaṣi's marriage with Lord Sundareśa. His deep devotion to Lord Rāma is revealed from the benedictory verse itself.

pāṇigrahāvasara eva dṛḍhopagūḍhā
rāgaspṛśā raghupater nayanāñcalena /
lajjāvaśān navavadhūriva saṅkucantī
dṛṣṭir mahīduhiturastu vibhūtaye vaḥ //

The marriage of Sītā with Rāma is referred to here probably in keeping with the festival.

The sixty-four *līlās* of Sundareśa are also referred to in the following statement: *catuḥṣaṣṭividha - vihāra dhaureyasya sundareśa namo bhagavate*

Rāmabhadra belonged to a family well-versed in the Vedas and was a native of Kaṇḍaramāṇikya.

yaścaturvedayajvendravaṁśavāridhikaustubhaḥ
yasya kaṇḍaramāṇikyagrāmo bhavati janmabhūḥ[151]

Dīkṣita, the son-in-law of Cokkanātha was one who was praised by learned scholars, had also a good number of disciples.

nikhilavidvajjana ślāghanīya vaiduṣya śālino vadavada
śiṣya sahasra vibhāvyamāna-nijaprabhāvaḥ. śraudharma
iva mustimantah tatrabhavantaś cokkanātha makhi prava-
rāvitīrno api prathamam ātmakāvyam iva punarapi snehena
niravadyam vitaranti sma padavidyām.

This *bhāṇa* was written at the request of his disciple Raghunātha.[152]

It is interesting to note that a doubt is made about Dīkṣita's capacity to write a *bhāṇa* in an elegant style as he is well-versed only in the science of grammar of Kaiyaṭa and may be his style is too harsh-sounding. But this doubt is set aside as he has had an entry in the assembly of Nīlakaṇṭha which has created in him an ability to write elegant and sweet poetry.

nīlakaṇṭha makhinām sadasi sakṛtpraviṣṭasyādyāpi
samullasati sarasapadasandharbhavaidagdhī. [153]

Thus Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita's noble ancestry, his acquaintance with the science of grammar, his poetic abilities are fully described in this prologue to the *bhāṇa*.

Veṅkaṭeśvara Kavi, the son of Daksiṇāmūrti of Kauṇḍinyagotra was the *āptaśiṣya* of Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita[154]. He wrote the commentary *Lalitā* on the Patañjalicarita of his preceptor. He was also the author of an unnamed *prahasana*[155]. This *prahasana* is totally vulgar[156].

Veṅkaṭakṛṣṇa Dīkṣita (1684-1711 A.D.) was the son of Veṅkaṭādri Mahopādhyāya of Vādhūla gotra and Maṅgāmbikā. He hailed from Pallakaceri, a place 20 miles from Cidambaram. He was patronised by the Kings of Śrangapatnam, Tiruchirāppalli and Chenji. Finally he settled at the court of Sāhaji. He studied *śāstra-s* under Vāsudeva adhvarin and made a special study of Vedānta under Paramaśivendra Sarasvatī.

Veṅkaṭakṛṣṇa wrote a *kāvya*, *Naṭeśa vijaya*[157] in 7 cantos, dealing with Śiva's conquest of Kāli at Cidambaram. This poem is attributed to his patron Gopāla. This Gopāla was one of the Governors deputed by Śivāji I to rule over a fort, four or five miles distant from Cidambaram. *Uttaracampū*[158] was composed at Sāhajirājapuram. *Kuśalavavijayanāṭaka*[159] is a drama written by him. *Rāmacandrodaya* is mentioned by him in his *Naṭeśavijaya*.

Ātreya Varadācārya *alias* Appayārya, son of Śrīnivāsādhvarin, who was the nephew of Tātācārya, was the author of *Pañcamatabhañjana*. He must have flourished during the 17th cent. A.D. He was patronised by Velugoti Singhabhūpāla, son of Kastūri Raṅga (17th cent. A.D). He was the pupil of Varadaguru. *Anaṅgajīvanabhāṇa*[160] was written by him.

Veṅkaṭeśa was a poet patronised by King Sāhaji (1684-1710 A.D.) and Serfoji I (1711-28 A.D). He was the son of Dharmarājasūri of Naidhinvakāśyspagotra, a resident of Manalūr near Sirkāḻi; under *Varisaippaṭṭi* he was given a village by Sāhajī during 1709 A.D.[161]

He wrote *Bhosalavaṁśāvalīcampū*,[162] the history of the royal dynasty. The statement made at the end of this manuscript shows that Veṅkaṭeśa was a great poet.

śri naidhruva veṅkaṭesa kavinā sāhityabhojena yat.
vīra śrī sarabhoji rājacaritam śabdārthacitram navam
iti bhagavadavatāratayā kavīndrair-
varṇyamāno vidvadbhir ācandrārkam
vijayasva iti
sarabhojimahārājo mūrtimān dharma iva
ācandrārkam vijayatām[163]

The *maṅgalaśloka* addressed to Lakṣmī in the beginning of this *campū*, shows the author's skill in fancy.

ambhorāśisutā nijaṁ maṇivare dṛṣtvākṛtiṁ bimbitām
anyāṁ vakṣasi lālayatyayam iti krudhā avatīryorasaḥ
pārśve namramukhaṁ sthīta pādanakhe dṛṣṭvā tu bimbaṁ vibhor
namrosāviti mānavegavigamāt jātasmitā pātu vaḥ.[164]

Śabhāpativilāsa[165] is a *nāṭaka*. In the beginning of this work there is reference to Veṅkaṭeśa's father. The author of this drama, according to the words of the *Sūtradhāra* is one who is proficient in four types of composing viz.,

aprayāsa vijṛmbhamāṇa āśu madhura citra vistāra
caturvidha kavitā sandarśita camatkārāya.[166]

Veṅkaṭeśa's proficiency in composing the *nāṭaka* and other types of dramas and in writing poems also find a place here.

Nīlāpariṇaya[167] is a drama in 5 Acts, and the manuscript was written by the poet himself. Two more dramas of his are the *Rāghavānanda*[168] in 7 Acts and *Pratijñārāghava* which are not available. *Unmattakavikalaśaprahasana*[169] is also by him. This is also known as *Lambodaraprahasana*.

The variety of Veṅkaṭeśvara's contribution to Sanskrit literature is clearly understood from the above account.

Dharmarājasūri of Naidhruva Kāśyapa gotra was a resident of Manalūr, near Sīrkaḷi and was the father of Veṅkaṭeśvara as mentioned by the author of *Bhosalavaṁśāvalicampū*, *Sabhāpativilāsanāṭaka* and others. He must have flourished during the early part of 17th century as his son, Veṅkaṭesa, was patronised by Sāhaji (1684-1710 A.D). He had the title of *Ṣaḍbhāṣāsārvabhauma* conferred on him at the *sabhā* of Jñānendramunīndra, resident of Manalūr. *Sabhāpativilāsanāṭaka* of his son refers to this:

hṛdyavidyā naṭanaraṅgasthalāyamāna jñānendra-
munīndra sabhā ṣamprāpta ṣaḍbhāṣāsārvabhauma
apara nāmadheyaḥ[170]

He wrote *Darvīkaraśikhāmaṇibhāṣyā* which is referred to in the *Sabhāpativilāsa.*[171]

Atirātrayajvan[172] was the fifth son of Nārāyaṇa Dikṣita, son of Accān Dīkṣita, brother of Appayya Dīkṣita I. He was the younger brother of Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita and Appayya II (the author of *Tantra Siddhāntadīpikā*, *Durūhaśikṣā* etc.). He lived during the end of the 17th century.

He wrote the play, *Kuśakumudvatīya*[173] in five Acts, on the marriage of Kuśa and Kumudvatī, a Nāga princess. This play was probably based on the 10th canto of *Raghuvaṁśa. Tripuravijayacampū* is also by him. This is in 5 *Āśvāsas. Pratiraghuvaṁśa*, a *kāvya* of his, is not available, but is referred to in the prologue of his drama.

Cakrakavi was the son of Lokanātha and Ammā (Ambā) and the younger brother and pupil of Rāmacandra and Patañjali. His works were appreciated by Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita. He belonged to the 17th cent. A.D. His son Rāmacandra, was well-versed in Sāmaveda. Both the Pāṇḍya and Cera rulers appreciated him[174].

Cakrakavi wrote the following works:

1. *Citraratnākara*[175], a *kāvya* in six sections. This is in the form of questions and answers and belongs to the *prahelikā*(riddle) variety.
2. *Jānakīpariṇaya*[176] kāvya in 8 cantos.
3. *Ḍamayantīpariṇayacampū*, referred to in his *Draupadīpariṇaya*, TCD. 1376.
4. *Draupadīpariṇayacampū*[177]in six *Āśvasas.*
5. *Pārvatipariṇayacampū* referred to in his *Draupadīpariṇaya.*
6. *Rukmiṇīpariṇayakāvya.*[178]

Kosalabhosalīya,[179] a historical *kāvya* of *dvisandhāna* variety (two theme *kāvya*), was composed by Śeṣācalapati, son of Akkadevī and Veṅkaṭapati amātya. In this work the author has dealt with the stories of Rāma as well as Śāhaji simultaneously. Śeṣācalapati was well-known as *ĀndhravākPāṇini* and was honoured by King Śāhaji with the gift of a palanquin and gold coins.

V.Raghavan is of the opinion that the author is probably the same as the one who wrote *Śāharājavilāsamu* in Telugu.[180]

Dharmarāja wās the son of Raghunātha and was a native of Tanjore District. He flourished in the 17th cent. and was the author of *Veṅkaṭeśacampū*.[181]

Lokanāthādhavarin, son of Nārāyaṇa and native of Tippā (Dīpā) mbāpura in Coḷadeśa, wrote *Kandarpaḍarpaṇabhāṇa*[182],to be enacted at the Śrīraṅgam temple. Probably he belonged to the 17th cent. A.D.

Subrahmaṇya, son of Kṛṣṇasūri of Kāśyapagotra, lived during the 17th cent. A.D., and belonged to Tamil Nadu. He wrote *Sītāvijayendirā pariṇaya*[183], a *nāṭaka* in 7 Acts and also a commentary on it.

He is said to have completed *Mahāvīracarita (MVC)* of Bhavabhūti.[184] In the Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in Tanjore there is a reference by Rājaśekhara to the Ms. of *Mahāvīracarita* being burnt.[185]

These Mss. of *Mahāvīracarita* of South India stop with Act.V, verse 46.[186]

Vīrarāghava, son of Nṛsiṁha, who wrote a commentary on *Uttararāmacarita*[187], is said to have written a commentary on the reconstructed portion of *Mahāviracarita* also.

Narasiṁhasūri of Vādhūlagotra lived at Tirumaḷiśai (Bhūsārapura) and he belonged to the Dāśarathī or Mudaliyāṇḍān family. He was the father of Vīrarāghava (dāsa) (Rāghava), who wrote a commentary *Bhāvatalasparśini* on the *Uttararāmacarita*[188]. He was also the author of a commentary on *Tattvasāra* of Vātsya Varadācārya[189] and *Bhaktisūryodaya*.[190]

Veṅkaṭādhvari was one of the foremost writers of Tamil Nadu who contributed richly to the field of Sanskrit Literature. He was born in the direct line of Ātreya Rāmānuja. He was the son of Raghunātha and Sītāmbā, grandson of Śrīnivāsa (Appayaguru to his disciples), who was the sister's son of Tātācārya of Kāñcī. Veṅkaṭādhvari was born at Arasaṇippālai near Kāñcī and he stayed at Kāñcī. A contemporary of Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita, he lived during the 17th cent. A.D. His depth of scholarship was rich and his works reveal this.

Viśvaguṇādarśacampū is well-known work by him. *Rāghava yādavīya*[191] is a *viloma, anuloma* kāvya in 30 verses. As the title itself suggests this *kāvya* deals with the story of Rāma when the verses are read forward and that of Kṛṣṇa when they are read backward. The author's lineage is given in one of the manuscripts.

prakhyātaḥ praṇatārtibhid gurur iti śrībhāṣya karturmunir
yo mahānasikas tad uktirasikaḥ śrīmān sa yatrābhavat /
vaṁśe tatra hi vārdhihaṁsa jāladācāryūdibhir bhūṣita
yajvā abhūd raghunātha dīkṣita kaviḥ śri śrinivāseṣṭinaḥ //
tat sūnuḥ kila veṅkaṭādri kavistasyānumatyā guroḥ
śrīmad yādava rāghavīya caritam ślokaiś śubhair triṁśatā /
tairākhyāiti nigadyate akṣaraganaṇair yatrānulomyoditaiḥ
rāmasya prati lomatastu paṭhitaiḥ kṛṣṇasya yat krīḍitam.[192] //

Uttaracampū or *Uttararāmāyaṇa Campū* or *Rāmāyaṇottaracampū*[193] is another work of Veṅkaṭādhvani. Rāghava Pātrācārya has written a Commentary on it. Scholars like Deshpande feel that this may not be his work since there is difference between the style of *Viśvaguṇādarśa* and this *campū*.

Varadābhyudayacampū[194] or *Hastigiricampū* by this poet is in five *vilāsas*. This describes the greatness of Lord Varadarāja and His temple at Kāñcī

In this campū all the mythological incidents connected with the holy shrine of Kāñcī find a place. The sacrifice performed at Kāñcī or Satyavatīkṣetra, Sarasvatī's anger with Brahmā, her taking the form of a river and flowing through the region, Gajendra-mokṣa etc. are described here. Though not of much literary value, the sanctity of this holy city is brought out by these stories.

Śravaṇānanda[195], a collection of verses on various topics and *Subhāṣitakaustubha* an anthology in five sections, are said to be his works. A *bhāṇa*, *Śṛṅgāratilaka* and a play, *Subhadrāpariṇaya* of which only two Acts are available are mentioned as his works.

Pradyumnānanda[196] is a drama in six Acts. The plot appears to be the same as *Arthapañcakanāṭaka* or *Jñānamudrānāṭaka*, dealing with the marriage of Pradyumna and Ratī. This theme probably has connection with that of the local *māhātmya* of Tirukkaṇṇapuram shrine in Tanjore district. The five *arthas* which became the Acts of this play are *Cintāyoga*, *Samārambha*, *Vyāpāra*, *Hetudarśana*, and *Abhīṣṭalābha*. This play was intended to be staged at the festival of Srinivāsa of Tirupati.

Samarapuṅgava Dīkṣita was the son of Veṅkaṭeśa of Vādhūlagotra and brother of Sūryanārāyaṇa and Dharma. He lived at Tiruvālaṅgādu, in North Arcot district in the middle of the 17th cent. A.D.

Among his works, *Tīrthayātrāprabandha*[197], stands foremost. This work is in ten *Āśvāsas*. The work begins with the *maṅgalācaraṇa* followed by the description of Vaṭāraṇya (Arcot).

In *Āśvāsa* I Veṅkaṭeśa marries the sister of Śivayogin and prays to Śiva for an issue. After taking bath in the lake Vimukti, hė recites the *Sūryastuti.* Worshipping of Kātyāyana, *Nandikeśavastuti, Śivastuti* and *Gaurī* aṙe given. Veṅkaṭeśa gets a child by the grace of Śivastuti who is educated and then married.

The *Āśvāsa* II gives an account of Samarapuṅgava's study along with Sūryanārāyaṇa undeṙ Appaya Dīkṣita.

The *Āśvāsa* III contains a description of the spring season, going on a *Tīrthayātrā*, visit of holy places - Kāñcī, Ekāmreśvara, Ekāmreśvarastuti, Kāmākṣīstuti, Viṣṇudarśana and Viṣṇustuti.

The *Āśvāsa* IV gives a description of sunrise, park, sunset, rising moon, sending a lady messenger etc.

In the fifth *Āśvāsa* there is the description of Kāverī, Setu, Setustuti, *stotra* on Śiva at Gandhamādana (Rāmesvaram), going to the Pāṇḍya country, *Mīnākṣīstuti* at Hālāsyapura and *Śivastuti.* The author gets married to a second girl.

Starting with a description of the *grīṣma* season the sixth *Āśvāsa* gives the account of the pilgrimage to Gayā, stotra on Svāmi Kārtikeya, visiting the King Maka, *Veṅkaṭeśastotra* at Kālahasti and on Ambikā, going to Śrīparvata, Ahobalapatidarśana and *Caṇḍīstuti.*

In the seventh *Āśvāsa*, the description contains the author's visit to Gokarṇa, description of a few rivers, cities, Mukundastuti and Gaṅgāstuti.

The eighth *Āśvāsa* continues the description of the pilgrimage to see the Lord of Kedāra, Badarikāśrama, Kāmarūpa, *Kāmākhyāstuti*, Kapilāśrama, going to Nīlādri, *Jagannāthastuti*, Gayā, taking a bath in several holy rivers there, *Vindhyeśvarīstuti*, stotra on the three rivers Gaṅgā, Yamunā and Sarasvatī at Prayāga, going to Sāketa and *Rāmabhadrastuti.*

The tenth *Āśvāsa*, describes the visit to Vārāṇasī, *Vārāṇasīstuti, Viśveśastuti* and *Īśvarastuti.*

Nārāyaṇa Dīkṣita was the son of Raṅgaśāyi Dīkṣita of Śreṣṭhakula and the disciple of Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita. He must have lived in the 17th cent.

Adbhutapañjara[198] written by him is a drama in 7 Acts and belongs to the *nāṭaka* variety among the *Rūpakas.* The theme is based on the marriage of King Kamalaketu of Vārāṇasī.

Since it is said that the drama was performed at Serfoji's court during Mahāmakam festival, it is to be taken that this drama was composed during the year 1693 A.D.[199] (or late 17th cent.).

In this play the author shows his skill in descriptions and also in handling sentiments in a fairly good style.

(a) The soliloquy of the King :

svapnaḥ kinnu bhaved ayam na na
tadā yajjāgarūko abhavam
bhrāntiḥ kim na na yad viśeṣa
viṣayair bodhair na bādhodāyaḥ /
saṅkalpaḥ kim asau na naiva
yadabhūt tat tādṛśī bhāvanā
kandarpaśya tad īdṛśam
manumahe kautaskitam ceṣṭitam // [200]

(b) Kamalaketu's dialogue :

udvelānala kalpakṣaya samaya samu-
jjṛmbhamāṇāmburāśi kṣobha prāgbhāva.
..... mlecchaiḥ svecchā vihāram
vyadhuradhisamaram dāvavad veṇvaraṇye [Act VI.8]

This is a description of Yavana's attack and is in keeping with the sentiment. It is in *Ārabhaṭī* style.

(c) Proverbs are also properly interwoven in the dialogues.

aho mūṣikāyā mukhe apūpikā
rakṣanīyā nikṣiptā (p.105)
eṣāpi dāsyās sutā kalāvatī
makṣikeva madhūlihāya samīpe dṛśyate (p.54)

Nārāyaṇa's father, Raṅgaśāyi Dikṣita wrote *Adbhuta pañjara kathā* [201] which is a summary of the story of his son's play *Adbhutapañjara*. This work gives additional information relating to the background of the play.

Mahādeva wrote a drama in 10 Acts, *Adbhutadarpaṇa*[202]. The author was the son of Kṛṣṇasūri of Kauḍinya gotra and pupil of Bālakṛṣṇānanda.

Dharmarāja was the son of Raghunātha and was a native of Tanjore district. He flourished in the 17th cent. and was the author of *Veṅkaṭeśacampū*[203].

Varada (deśika), resident of Śrīmuṣṇam belonging to the Vīravalli family, appears to have been a great scholar. He lived in the 17th cent. Śrinivāsa, son of Varada, wrote *Bhūvarāhavijāya*. His son Śrīmuṣṇam Kauṇdinya Vīravalli Varadadeśika was the author of several works: *Lakṣmīnārāyaṇacarītra*, *Raghuvīravijaya*, *Rāmāyaṇa saṅgraha*, *Ambujavalliśataka* (MD 17444), *Śrīvarāhāṣṭaka* and *Gadyarāmāyaṇa* (MD 12744).

Nallā Dīkṣita, probably a relative of Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita (?), hailed from Kaṇḍaramāṇikkam. He was the pupil of Rāmanātha Makhin and Śri Sadāśiva Brahmendra. He was the son of Bālacandra of Kauśika gotra. He too added to the wealth of Sanskrit Literature and Philosphy.

Advaitamānjarī by Nallākavi is a small tract on the tenets of Advaita. He himself wrote a commentary *Parimalā* on this. He wrote two other allegorical plays, *Cittavṛttikalyāṇa* and *Jīvanmuktikalyāṇa*. The former is known only from a reference in *Jīvanmukti Kalyāṇa*.

Jīvanmuktikalyāṇa[204] is a full-fledged allegorical drama. It is said to have been composed when Nallā Dīkṣita was 20 years old. The hero king Jīva with his consort Buddhi wanders about enjoying plesures of life in the waking, dreaming and sleeping states (*jāgrat, svapna* and *suṣupti*). The Jiva, becoming disgusted with this mode of life, earnestly desires for salvation and self-realisation. The six enemies, *kāma, krodha, moha, lobha, mada* and *mātsarya* cause obstructions, but finally the Jīva overcomes these with the noble qualities of the self, *dayā, kṣamā,anasūyā, anāyāsa, śauca, maṅgala, kārpaṇya* and *aspṛhā*. Entering the fourth *āśrama*, viz., *sannyāsa* and following the *śama, dama* etc., the *sādhanacatuṣṭaya* which act like servants to him, he obtains *Brahmasākṣatkāra* by the grace of *Śivaprasāda and Dīkṣānugraha*. He becomes the Brahman (Supreme Being) and enjoys the pleasure of self-realisation. The plot is developed well and the philosophical concepts are put in a simple and easily understandable way.

Nallā Dīkṣita's skill may be understood from a few verses given below :

prāṇān pañca niyamya tam ca
karaṇagrāmam nigṛhya kṣaṇam
pratyāhṛtya manaḥ parāg
viṣayato yāvad samādhīyate
tāvad pāda jhalad jhalāyitamaṇī
mañjīra śṛṅgāritā
bālā kiñcid udañcita smitamukhī
citte mamojjṛmbhate.[205]

śrotavyam śrutivākyataḥ śrutam idam
mantavyam antaściram
yuktyoghena matam ca tat
pravišadam kāryam nididhyāsanaḥ
sākṣāt kāryam idam tadeva śanakaiḥ
ātmasvarūpam param
tanniṣṭhā pariniṣṭhitā samupa-
gantavyā mumukṣā vatā. [206]

The above two verses show how the aspirant should control the mind through yogic practices and how through the practice of various steps as *śravaṇa, manana* etc, realise the Supreme One.

In another verse the poet makes a beautiful description of the union of the Jīva and the Supreme Being thus:

asmin brahmapure manoharataram hṛtpuṇḍarīkābhidham
veśma svastyayanam samādhi rajasā śūnyam viśuddham ca yat
tasyāntar mahadaṅgaṇam daharam ityākhyāyate yad budhaiḥ
jīvanmuktir ihaive tiṣṭhati bhavān prastautu pāṇigraham[207].

A *Śivastava*[208] is also found in this drama from which a verse is given below.

jaya jaya deva deva jagadīśa nadī śaśibhṛd
ghana ghanasāra sāra sukumāra kumāraguro
śiva śivatalitati ramaṇīya maṇivalayam
bhava bhavabhīma bhīmathana midana modayita.

He also wrote the *ñaṭaka, Subhadrāpariṇaya*[209] which was enacted at Madhyārjuna or Tiruviḍaimarudūr temple and a *bhāṇa, Śṛṅgārasarvasvabhāṇa.*[210]

Nallā Dīkṣita[211] alias Bhūmināṭha Kavi was also a beloved disciple of Rāmabhadra[212]. In his *Dharmavijayacampū*[213] he has given an account of the life and deeds of Sāhaji.

Umānandanātha [214] is the *dīkṣā* name of Jagannātha[215]. He was the son of Bālakṛṣṇa and Lakṣmī. He was a Mahārāṣṭra deśastha Brahmin and had the surname *'Śrutapeṭava.* They were patronised by Serfoji I and Ekoji II (1735-6 A.D.) Umānanda was a pupil of Kāmākṣisūri alias Kāmeśvara. He was mainly a śākta-writer and also wrote a few *stotras* as also some literary works. He took *dīkṣā* under Bhāskararāya or Bhāsurānandanātha and then he was known as Umānandanātha. He was a great devotee of *Parāśakti.*

To the field of Sanskrit Literature he contributed two *kāvyas* and two dramas. He wrote *Aśvadhāṭīkāvya*[216] for his grandson. *Ratimanmathanāṭaka*[217] is a unique play which was presented at the spring festival of Goddess Ānandvallī at Tanjore. This is a unique play which presents Manmatha as neither resurrected nor destroyed. *Vasumatīpariṇayanāṭaka*[218] was composed under the patronage of Ekoji II. Another poem of his is *Śarabharājavilāsa*[219] on King Sarabhoji. This was composed in 1722 A.D.

He wrote three treatises in the field of Śākta. *Nityotsavanibandha*[220] based on *Paraśurāmakalpasūtra*, *Bhāskaravilāsa*[221] on his *guru; Hṛdayāmṛta*[222] was written in A.D. 1742.

Śivarāmasūri of Kauṇḍinayagotra was the disciple of Brahmānanda (1700-1800 A.D), resident of Tiruvaiyāru, who wrote *Kaivalyadīpikā*[223] and *Bodhānandagītā*[224], an abridgement of the Bhāṣya on all upaniṣads starting from *Īśāvāsya* to *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* in 12 *Paricchedas.*

Śivarāmacampū[225] of his in six *kāṇḍas* gives the *Rāmayaṇa* story (*uttarakāṇḍa*?)

The verse in the beginning of this *campū* shows the skill of the poet in handling the language.

siddhir dṛṣṭacarī yadīya caraṇāmbhojadvayācañcalā
bhaktānām bahudhā nṛṇāṁ sumahatī prārīpsite karmaṇi
dāyadaśca savayor yas sa bhagavān ākaṇṭhadantāvalaḥ
kṣipram pūrtikṛte cikīrṣitakṛter bodhotu lambodaraḥ.
ambujāsana vadhūr upāsyate campurāmacaritam cikīrṣuṇa
āsya raṅgabhuvi lāsyam āśu me apāsya buddhijaḍatā tiraḥ?
yaś śārīrakabhāṣyadvaya matoddharaṇapravṛttam mukhād
bodhānanda ghanendra samyamipater medhāvino adhītavān
tenaiṣa śivarāma kavinā campūprabandhātmanā
ṣaṭkāṇḍī racitāstu rāghavamude vālmīki rāmāyaṇe

Nṛsiṁharāya II[226], son of Ānandayajvan and Jayantī, was minister of Ekoji II alias Bhāvā Saheb (1735-36 A.D). He was the grandson of Nṛsiṁharāya I. *Tripuravijayacampū*[227] was written by him.

Veṅkaṭeśvara Śāstrin may be the author of *Sāhendra Vilāsa* of Śrīdhara Vēṅkaṭesa. But there is no clear evidence for this.[228]

Vedakavīśvara[229] mentioned by Periappā Kavi (17th-18th cent. A.D.) in the prologue to his play, *Śṛṅgāraṁañjarī sāhajīya*, wrote two allegorical plays, which are ascribed to his patron Ānandarāya Makhin.

These are *Jīvānanda*[230] and *Vidyāpariṇaya*[231]. The former is a drama dealing with medicine, the latter has for its theme, *advaita vedānta* and is in 7 Acts.

Perusūri (17th cent.) was the daughter's son of Aṇṇādhvarin of Gautamagotra, son of Veṅkaṭā and Veṅkaṭeśvari of Kauśikagotra. He was also known as Navīna Patañjali and Śrīdhara Perusūri. He was the pupil of Vāsudevādhvarin.

He wrote *Vasumaṅgalanāṭaka*[232] in 5 Acts on the marriage of Uparicaravasu and Girikā, the daughter of Mount Kolāhala to be presented at the Mīnākṣi festival in Madurai.

He wrote a *sandeśa kāvya* called *Cakorasandeśa*[233] and another *kāvya Rāmacandravijaya*[234]. In the field of grammar *Auṇādikapadārṇava*[235] based on *Uṇādi* was composed by him.

Two other works of this author mentioned in *Vasumaṅgalanāṭaka* are *Bharatābhyudaya* and *Veṅkaṭabhāṇa*.

Naidhruva Kaśyapa Veṅkaṭeśakavi, son of Rāghavārya wrote *Bhosalavaṁśāvalī* [236].

Ḍhuṇḍhirāja Vyāsa *alias* Abhinava[237] Jayadeva was one of the prominent scholars associated with the Tanjore court during the Maratha rule. He was residing at Swamimalai, the holy shrine dedicated to Lord Subrahmaṇya. He was a *paurāṇika* of Sāhajī. Hence he had the appendage Vyāsa to his name as given in the colophon to *Sāhavilāsagīta*[238]:

> *iti sāhamahāraja paurāṇika ḍhuṇḍhi vyāsa viracitam*
> *sāhavilāsagītaṁ vijayatām.*

Ḍhuṇḍhi wrote in 1719 A.D. an epitome on the *Rāmāyaṇa* stressing its importance as a *kāvya* emphasising the practice of Dharma. It was called as *Dharmākūta*[239]. This is ascribed to Trayambakarāya.[240]

He wrote a commentary on *Mudrārākṣasa* [241] as also a *Chāyā*[242] for the *Prākṛt* passages of this drama.

Sāhavilāsagīta by him is a musical composition on the model of Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda*. This work got him the title of Abhinava Jayadeva.[243]

Rājakośanighaṇṭu[244] or *Rājavyavahārakośa* of his is a lexicon of political and administrative terms current in Vernacular and Persian. This is ascribed to Raghunātha Paṇḍita attached to the court of the great Śivāji.[245]

Jñānavilāsakāvya[246] refers to his trip to Banares. This is a poem with spiritual theme.

Nīlakaṇṭhakavi was the daughter's son of Vāñceśvara, son of Śukla Janārdhana and student of Bhaṭṭa Śrī Maṇḍana. He composed *Śṛṅgāraśataka*[247] in 110 verses in the year 1765 A.D. or 1675 A.D. (The exact date is not clear Sam. 1732 or Śaka 1687).

Vāñceśvara, referred to under *Gṛhyasūtra* section and patronised by Pratāpasiṁha (1741-64 A.D.) , wrote a few *laghu kāvyas*. He was also known as Bāla kavi or Kuṭṭikavi. His *Mahiṣaśataka* or *Lulāyaśataka*[248] is a poem, a satire on the misbehaviour of the King. *Turagaśataka* or *Dhāṭīśataka*[249] describes Lord Raṅganātha seated on a horse. The *aśvadhāṭī* metre is used significantly.

Veṅkaṭācārya, son of Śatakratu Tātayārya (Tātācārya) wrote *Kokilasandeśa*[250] and *Rāmāyaṇakathāsāra*.

Rāmacandrāśrama, a contemporary of King Tulajā (1765 - 87 A.D.), son of Pratāpasiṁha (1741 - 64 A.D.) wrote the drama, *Kalāvatīnandaka*[251] which is in 7 Acts.

Sundara Virarāghava was the son of Kastūri Raṅganātha and grandson of Vādhūla Vīrarāghava (18th cent. A.D.)[252] of Tirumaḷiśai. This poet lived at Sūkṣma Kiṁgṛhapura (Siru vallūr) in South Arcot district. He wrote *Abhinavarāghavanāṭaka*[253], a drama in 8 Acts. This drama was intended to be staged at the Caitra festival at Śrīraṅgam.

Bhojarājāṅka[254], an *Aṅka* type of *Rūpaka* by him, has for its theme the early part of the life of King Bhoja. The conspiracy made by his uncle Muñja to usurp the throne is described. The drama was intended to be staged on the occasion of the festival of God Dehalīśa of Tirukkoyilūr, the presiding deity in that shrine located on the banks of the the river Peṇṇār.

peṇṇā nadīpāvita puṇya bhūmiḥ
kṛṣṇāṭavīcara gavīpada reṇu sāndrā /
śrī dehalīśa vanitā jana gulpha lambi
mañjīra śiñjita śuci dharaṇi cumbitās te //
śrī bālakiṁgṛhapurī viharad bameśa pādābja
reṇu maṇḍita mūrdha bhāgaḥ /
śrī sāttvatāmṛta mahodadhi pūrṇa candraḥ.
kastūri raṅga tanayo jayati (viditas) sumedhāḥ //

colophon:

iti śrī bālakiṁgṛhapurī tilakāya -
māna vādhūla kulatilaka śrī sundara -
vīrarāghavakṛtiṣu śrī
bhojarājāṅkaḥ samāptaḥ (MT. 1702)

Bhojarājāṅka fits into the characteristics of the *aṅka* variety of plays, as it is in one Act, the hero, a mortal one and the main sentiment is karuṇa or the pathetic. The theme is based on the domestic conspiracies which result in Bhoja's adventourous trips.

Rambhārāvaṇīya[255] by him, an *Īhāmṛga*, is in four acts. The story is based on that of the celestial damsel Rambhā, being outraged by Rāvaṇa and the curse on the latter by Nalakūbara, the lover of Rambhā. The characteristics of *Īhāmṛga* are followed as per the definition of *Sāhityadarpaṇa*.

Nallān Cakravarti Śaṭhagopācārya[256] who flourished during the end of the 18th cent A.D. traces his descent from Urupputtūr Āchān, one of the disciples of Nāthamuni. He belonged to Vasiṣṭhagotra.

He wrote a drama, *Damayantīkalyāṇa*[257] to be staged at the festival of Padmāsahāya at Śrīraṅgam.

He is said to have written *Kalyāṇagirimāhātmya*. A manuscript of this work is available in Madras Govt. Oriental Mss.Library Descriptive Catalogue no.1541l. But the name of the author is not given here.

Two other works of his are *Śrīnivāsastava* and a musical poem in praise of Lord Śrīnivāsa of Kalyāṇagīri.[258]

Gaṅgādharamakhin was a contemporary of Bhāskararāya. *Bhosalavaṁśāvali*[259], referred to as his work is only verses 6-38 of the *Śāhendravilāsa*.

Among the several panegyrics, apart from *Sumatīndrayaśoghoṣaṇa* of Sumatīndra[260], *Śāhārājasabhāsarovarṇini* by Lakṣmaṇa and *Śāharājanakṣatramālā*[261] of Nārāyaṇa are works on Sāhaji.

Lokanāthādhvarin, son of Nārāyaṇa and native of Tippāmbāpura (Dīpāmbāpura) in Coladeśa wrote *Kandarpadarpaṇabhāṇa*. He probably belonged to the 17th-18th century. This was intended to be enacted at the Caitra festival of Śri Raṅganātha at Śrīraṅgam temple.

The *bhāṇa* is about a *viṭa*, Ratiśekhara, who starts early in the morning on a particular day, to go to the house of a young courtesan Varāṅgī, for attending a function connected with her coming of age. On the way he shares the pleasures and pains of lovers whom he meets, encouraging them or consoling them and advises them. This is a common feature found in the *bhāṇas*.

The author shows considerable skill in handling the language and presenting the sentiments through the character of the *viṭa*.

There is a description of an assembly:

vividha surata karmālocanā jaiminīnām viṣama viśikhatattvajñāna/
prakriyā gautamāñam upanata iva daivāt sajjanānām samājaḥ //

The *Bharatavākya* of this play shows the author's fondness for blending the Gauḍī and Pāñcālī *rītis*.

jayatu jaladhikanyālaṅkṛto raṅgadhāmā
jalada paṭala nīlaśśeṣaparyaṅka śāyī /
jayatu ca kavi sūktir gauḍa pāñcāla rītī
sahṛdayajanahṛdyā nāṭyavidyā anavadyā //[263]

Nallān Cakravarti Śaṭhagopācārya[264] who flourished during the end of the 18th cent. A.D. traces his descent from Urupputtir Āchān, one of the disciples of Nāthamuni. He belonged to Vasiṣṭhagotra.

Section B

In this section a few poets belonging to two well-known families viz. the Diṇḍima family and the Dīkṣita family are noted for their contributions to the Sanskrit Literature.

Diṇḍima Family

Aruṇagirināṭha, who flourished during 1422-50 A.D., belonged to this family. The ancestors of this family of Gauḍas migrated from Varendra (Bengal) to Mullandrum (Mūlāṇḍapura) village near Tiruvannamalai in North Arcot district.

Gururāmakavi or Gurusvayambhūrāma (c.1600 A.D.)[1] belonged to this family. He was the son of Svayambhūnātha, grandson of Tyāgarāja of Kāśyapagotra and daughter's son of Rājanātha.

He refers to Aghoraśivadeśika, Prāsādavallabha, Ḍhakkāsabhāpati and Bhāskara in the introduction to his drama *Ratneśvaraprasādana*.[2]

Among his contributions to the field of classical Sanskrit Literature the following are noteworthy:

Ratneśvaraprasādana,[3] a drama in five Acts is on the marriage of Ratnacūḍa and Ratnāvalī, daughter of a Gandharva Vasubhūti. She is said to have fulfilled her desire for gaining the hand of Ratnacūḍa, by the grace of Lord Ratneśvara of Benares. This play was intended to be staged at the festival of God Svayambhūnātha at Mullandrum.

Śankarānandacampū[4] of his has for its theme, the fight between Śiva as *kirāta* (hunter) and Arjuna. This work breaks off in the fifth *ucchvāsa*. Thus the plot handled by him is the same as *Kirātārjunīya*.

The following description is noteworthy: 'Śiva, who hid himself, for the sake of fun in a Crystal Cave (or Liṅga), was found out by Gaurī in the poison marked blue neck of His".[5]

Another *Campūkāvya* of his is *Hariścandracaritacampū* [6]: This *Campū* was written in Kali 4709 (1667 A.D.). Gururāma Kavi is said to have been honoured with a garland for opposing the disputants by his skill in composing a verse in praise of Viṣṇu and conquering a Śaiva devotee.[7]

Kṛṣṇavilāsakāvya[8] as the very name suggests is a Court-epic in fourteen *sargas* describing the sports of the Lord Gopāla.

Kṛṣṇavilāsodāharaṇa[9] is a *Khaṇḍa kāvya* of the *udāharaṇa* variety and has the same theme as the above *kāvya*.

Madanagopālavilāsabhāṇa[10] describes the love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. This was intended to be staged on the occasion of the festival in the month of Bhādrapada before God *Veṅkaṭeśa* of Tirupati.

Subhadrādhanañjaya[11] is another play of his in five Acts.

To this family belonged several other scholars, who were attached to the court of Vijayanagar rulers and composed not only *kavyas* but also inscriptions. A few of them are referred to here. It is also interesting to know how their place of residence in Tamil Nādu came to be known as Mullandrum.

Aruṇagirinātha is one of the ancestors of Gururāma kavi, whose works are referred to above. Aruṇagirinātha Diṇḍima Kavi Sārvabhauma was a great friend of Devarāya II, who was a great patron of poets. He obtained a grant from the King, a grant of *Nandavana* which he transformed into an *agrahāra* and named it as *Prauḍhadevarāyapura*, *Mūlāṇḍam* or *Mullandrum*, *Sārvabhaumapura* and *Diṇḍimālaya*.

prauḍhadevapuram dadau yasmāt prauḍhadevapuram tathā /
sārvabhaumaḥ svayam kartā sārvabhaumapuram tataḥ //
yatra sthitānām viduṣām sāmānyam diṇḍimam yathā /
diṇḍimālayam nāma proktam tṛtīyakam //
mūla iti vidvāṁsaḥ teṣām aṇḍam samāśrayaḥ /
mūlāṇḍamiti tannāma tasmād vakṣyanti vai budhāḥ[12]//

Thus this account in *Acyutarāyābhyudaya* of Rājanātha Diṇḍima describes the place of residence of these poets.

The Diṇḍimas were Śaivaites. An ancestor of Rājanātha migrated to South India from the Ganges valley on the invitation of a Cola Emperor, probably during the 12th cent. The family came to be known as Diṇḍima poets because of their success in tournaments. This family had connections with the Vijayanagar rulers.

Abhirāma Kāmākṣi wrote *Abhinavarāmābhyudaya*[13] a kāvya in 24 cantos. He flourished during the 16th cent. A.D.

Sabhāpati was another poet who belonged to this family. He was a court poet of Kṛṣṇa Devarāya and he composed several inscriptions on the deeds of the Vijayanagar rulers, the Nāgalavaram Copper Plate grant of Kṛṣṇarāya, and others.[14]

Another Rāmakavi[15] of Mullandrum was also the author of several inscriptions. He was the grandson of Sabhāpati and son of Kāmakoṭī. He composed the Kallakurici inscription, the grant of Varatuṅga Rāma Pāṇḍya and Śri Vallabha Pāṇḍya (d.1583 A.D.)

Pāṇḍavābhyudaya,[16] a *kāvya* in eight cantos was by Śivasūrya makhin of Śrivatsagotra also hailed from Mullandrum family. He lived at Puttūr.

Bālakavi, native of Mullandrum and a contemporary of Uddaṇḍakavi (author of *Mallikāmāruta*) wrote *Ratnaketūdaya*.[17] Probably he is referred to by Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita in his *Nalacaritranāṭaka*.

Dīkṣita Family

Appayya Dīkṣita needs no introduction to scholars as he is well-known as a prolific writer who contributed extensively to the field of Śaivism. The following verse speaks about the noble nature of this great scholar.

appadīkṣita kimityatistutiṁ varṇayāmi bhavato vadānyatām /
so'pi kalpatarurartha lipsayā tvad girām avasaram pratīkṣate //

Reference about Dīkṣita was made in the section on Śaivism and a brief analysis of his *stotras* will be made in the relevant section.

Next in succession comes the great scholar poet Nīlakaṇṭha Dīksita of the 17th cent. He was the second son of Bhūmi Devi and Nārāyaṇa Dīkṣita and brother's grandson of the great Appayya Dīkṣita. He was the disciple of Śrī Veṅkaṭeśvara and Gīrvāṇendra. For sometime he was the prime minister of Tirumalai Nāyak of Madurai. Besides some *Khaṇḍa kāvyas* he wrote a *mahākāvya, nāṭaka, campū* and other works.[18]

In general we find in almost all his works satire or attack (?) on poets of low calibre.

nāhamāsāṁ nṛpaḥ syāṁ cen nanu kuryāṁstathā mahīm /
viciṅvatāpi nekṣyante yathā duṣkavitāṅkurāḥ //

(*Gaṅgāvataraṇa* I. 31)

vijñaptiḥ śrūyatām ekā vidhātaḥ karuṇā yadi /
mūkān sṛja kavimmanyān badhirān viduṣo'tha vā //

(I. 34)

Gaṅgāvataraṇa[19] is a poem in eight *sargas* describing Bhagīratha's efforts to bring the Ganges to the Earth. This story has been taken from the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Several interesting verses are found in it of which a few are given below.

The river Ganges married Santanu under a condition that she will destroy the issues born to her to which the King acceded. But the last issue escaped and became the great *Bhīṣma*. This story is found in the *Mahābhārata*. So also Kārtikeya or Ṣaṇmukha was not born to Pārvatī. These two episodes are referred to in a verse and semblance of an accusation is made on the river thus:

bahavo vasavo vināśitāḥ na ca garbhe vidhṛto'pi ṣaṇmukhaḥ /
bhavatīm suta nirghṛṇām ato vaditum mātariti trapāmahe //

(VII. 30)

Śiva's detachment from and attachment to the worldly beings is thus mentioned in the following verse:

bhavabandha haro'smi dehinām iti viśrāmyatu vīraghoṣaṇā /
caturo yadi pūrvam ātmanaḥ ślathaya tvam trijagat kuṭumbitām //

(VII. 46)

The *kāvya, Gaṅgāvataraṇa* contains the following sęctions : *Kathāvatāra, Bhagīrathavaralābha, Gaṅgāvatāra, Kāśīpraveśa, Viśveśvara stava, Bhagīrathanagarapraveśa.*

Nīlakaṇṭhavijayacampū[20] in five *Āśvāsas* describes the churning of the ocean and Śiva's drinking the poison.

In the beginning of the work he refers to the sad plight of the poets and their works and says that many a work has been lost and only a few are extant; but still he tries to compose a *kāvya.*

kati kavayaḥ kati kṛtayaḥ kati luptāḥ kati caranti kati śithilāḥ /
tadapi pravartayati mām̐ śaṅkara pāramya saṅkathā lobhaḥ //

(Āśvāsa I.v.6.)

His style reminds one of earlier prose writers.

amukha mukharam anāhata paṭaham akvaṇita vīṇā vāditram
avasanna-kinnarī-
gānam ..... avasita vaitālika kolāhalam ..... apanīta
mātaṅgaghaṇṭā-
valayam ābaddhamiva mūkamiva badhiramiva mugdhamiva
.....vinyastamiva citraphalake ..... (pp.4l-43)

Several other noteworthy features of the art of poesy are found here. For want of space we have to restrict them. A verse in which numerals are used in the description of the Lord.

ekam̐ sad dvivibhūh tridhāma nihitam catur vyūham /
pañcāyudham prapadye ṣaḍguṇa sampannam aśaraṇaśśaraṇam

(Āśvāsa II.v.37)

Here in this *kāvya* also we come across Nīlakaṇṭha Dīksita's desire not to lose his self-respect and his satire on mediocre poets.

labheya nindām api satkavīnām savyaṅgya saurabhya rasair vacobhiḥ /
na tu praśaṁsām api duṣkavīnām durgandhibhir vīta saurabhībhiḥ //

(I.44)

Śivalīlārṇava[21] is another major poem of his describing a few exploits of Lord Sundareśa of Madurai. This is based on *Hālāsyāmāhātmya*, 48th *khaṇḍa* of *Skandapurāṇa.*

Some of the incidents here are: the Kuṇḍodara episode, Ugrapāṇḍya striking the Mount Meru, making the stone-elephant eat the sugar-cane, killing the elephant sent by the Bauddhas, His dance with the right leg lifted up (*kāl māṟi āḍiyatu*), the God acting as the charioteer for the Pāṇḍya ruler and conquering the Cola king, conquering a musician, offering the *śaṅkha* plank (*caṅka palakai*), blessing Kīra, Jñānsambandha curing the Pāṇḍya king etc.

Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita wrote *Anyāpadeśaśataka, Kalividambana, Sabhārañjanaśataka, Śāntivilāsa and Vairāgyaśataka.*[22]

Anyāpadeśaśataka in 101 verses in *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre is a collection in which good conduct or praise of great men is conveyed in a veiled manner. The thoughts embedded in these verses are deep.

kiṁ tvaṁ dohadam īhase kim udakaiḥ sikto 'si kiṁ kenacid
baddhaste sakṛdālavālavalayaḥ kiṁ te mahī saṁskṛtā /
dvistriḥ puṣyasi vāsarasya ma guṇān dhuttūra te nihnave
durgandho na bhaved iyān yadi tatastvam pārijāto'si naḥ //[23]

This verse speaks of a dhuthūra plant. No body has tried to nurture this by watering it or pleasing it by *dohada*, or by building a band around it or cleansing the ground. But for its bad odour it would not have been avoided. Probably this is a concealed way of saying that a person, though grown of his own accord would surely be set aside, if he has a bad element.

Another verse speaks of a great person who would not swerve from the path of virtue whatever be the circumstances:

varṣantu ambumucaḥ tapantu tapanāḥ mathnantu devāsurāḥ
badhnantu plavagāḥ patantu sarito gaṅgādimāḥ sarvataḥ /
puṣṇātūtpalabāndhavaḥ pratiniśaṁ muṣṇātu vā bāḍavo
nābdhiḥ kṣubhyati na prasīdati tato na kṣīyate naidhate //

(51)

Kalividambana[24] in 102 *anuṣṭubhs* is a satire. The weaknesses of the rich and other social elements such as quack doctors and astrologers are painted in their true colour. The following is about the teacher who evades his duty:

vācyatām samayo'tītaḥ spaṣṭam agre bhaviṣyati
iti pāṭhayatāṁ granthe kutra kāṭhinyaṁ vartate

[8]

(The time has elapsed, read further, things will become clear - for those who teach like this where is the difficulty.)

The following verse is an excellent one which makes fun of the astrologers:

āyuḥ praśne dīrgham āyur vācyaṁ mauhūrtikair janaiḥ /
jīvanto bahu manyante mṛtāḥ prakṣyanti kaṁ punaḥ //

(16)

When asked about life-span the astrologers should say that person will live long. When that one is alive he will think greatly of the astrologer and if he dies whom can he ask.

Sabhārañjanaśataka in 105 *anuṣṭubhs* contains wise sayings. The verses are written in a lucid style and pleasantly bring forth before us noble and dignified ideas and thoughts.

The necessity for words of wisdom for removing inner darkness is stressed in the following verse:

udyantu śatam ādityāh udyantu śatam indavaḥ /
na vinā viduṣām vākyair naśyatyābhyantaraṁ tamaḥ //

(3)

('Let hundred of suns and moons arise. Without the words of wisdom of learned men inner darkness never perishes')

By a beautiful comparison Dīkṣita says how even thoughts difficult to be grasped from scriptures become palatable through words of poets.

śāstreṣu durgraho 'pyarthaḥ svadate kavi sūktiṣu /
dṛśyaṁ karagataṁ ratnam dāruṇaṁ phaṇimūrdhani //

(4)

The gem in the hand is beautiful to look at; but the same one on the hood of a serpent causes fear.

Thus thoughts on family, education, wealth etc. are presented in a simple language.

Renunciation is pointed out in *Śāntivilāsa* and *Vairāgyaśataka*. Of these two the former contains 51 verses in *Mandākrāntā* metre and the latter 101 *Upajāti* verses. How people, who show affection and love when a person is alive, discard him when death is imminent pointed out in a verse thus:

dārāḥ putrāḥ paramasuhṛdo bāndhavāḥ kiṅkarāḥ vā
svapnāvasthāsvapi ca viraham ye mayā na kṣamante /
atyāsanne tapanatanayasyājñayā dūtavarge
teṣveko'pi smarahara na me gantum anvasti jantuḥ //

This verse from *Vairāgyaśataka* declares the greatness of one who has renounced the pleasures of life.

patatu nabhaḥ sphuṭatu mahī calantu girayo milantu vāridhayaḥ /
adharottaram astu jagat kā hānir vītarāgasya //

[6]

(Let the sky fall, let the earth break, let mountains shake, let all the oceans mingle together (and swell), let the universe go upside down, what is the harm to the renounced one'.)

How beautifully and in an elegant but at the same time powerful way of expression has Nīlakaṇṭha pointed out the greatness of the realised one.

Another striking verse is the following one which stresses that one should view all beings as one's own self.

tyaktavyo mamakāras tyaktum yadi śakyate nāsau /
kartavyo mamakāraḥ kintu sa sarvatra kartavyaḥ //

[7]

A few other scholars who belonged to this family are Appayya Dīkṣita III or Cinna Appayya, younger brother of Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita. He was patronised by Cinna Bomma, a pāḷigār under Cokkanātha Nāyak of Madura (1659 - 82 A.D.).

He wrote *Umāpariṇaya* which is not extant. In the prologue to *Vasulakṣmīkalyāṇa* of Veṅkaṭasubrahmaṇya this work is referred to (GD.1576). He wrote a drama *Vasumaticitraseniya*.[25]

Śeṣācala of this family probably belonged to the 17th or 18th cent. He wrote *Cintāmaṇi vijayacampū*.[26]

Maratha Kings of Tanjore and their Contribution to Sanskrit

King Śāhaji II (1684-1712 A.D) was called as Abhinavabhoja of Tanjore. He was the most illustrious King among the Maratha rulers of Tanjore. He was a great patron of arts and letters. He, proficient in many languages, was a great scholar in *Saṅgīta* and *Sāhitya*. More than thirty works in different languages are found in his name.[27]

He was the hero for many splendid literary works. Several of these refer to the titles like *Sakalabhāṣābhūṣita*, *Sakalārtha virājita*, *Saṅgitabharata sambhārita* etc. acquired by him speak of his merit in many fields.

His works fall under three categories viz. (l) Dramatic and poetic works (2) Musical compositions comprising mainly *padas* in praise of his family deity Śrī Tyāgaraja of Tiruvārūr and (3) works dealing with the science of music.

Candraśekharavilāsanāṭaka[28] is an excellent *abhinaya rūpaka.*

Śāharājaguṇavarṇana is an anonymous work in 58 verses. This gives in a nutshell all the historical events that are scattered in the 8 cantos of the *Śāhendra Vilāsa* of Śrīdhara Veṅkaṭeśa. There are some differences in the details given in this poem.

A reference had been made to the rule of a Marava King in the region between Madura and Pampan.

nāgapa dāntamarapaprabhu bhūmibhāgamākramya
śānta sudhiyā kṛta saṁvitbhāgaḥ
rāmeśvarepyatha tulāpuruṣādi dānam kḷptam ca
yena gurupuṇya kalāvidhānām

(33).

Another verse mentions Julūkhān being instigated by the Pāṇḍya King and giving trouble to Setunātha. In *Sāhendravilāsa* it is given that the Pāṇḍya ruler did not directly attack Setunātha.

pāṇḍyeśamantri narasādhipa yācabhūpa
protsāhanād ati kaṭhoratayā abhiyāntam /
tam jūlyukhān.yavanādhipam āśu cakre
hitam ca mahimajñamatha abhiyāntam //

(47)

The following verse uses the pronoun *yad* in all the cases skilfully.

śambhur yaḥ śaraṇikaroti bhājanam kṣmāpā mudā yanti yaṃ
lakṣmīr yena samṛddhyate ripu nṛpā yasmai namasyantyalam /
satkāryam varīvṛtīti ca yataḥ yasya prathā jṛmbhate
yasmin rājati dhīratā sāhaji rāṭ so'yam janaiḥ ślāghyate //

Tukkoji or Tulajā (1728-35 A.D.) is well-known for his musical treatise, *Saṅgītasārāmṛta*[29]. He was not only a musicologist, but was well-versed in Sanskrit, Telugu and Marathi. He was also a master in other sciences like *Āyurveda, Jyotiṣa* and *Dharma. Tulajāmahārājaguṇa varṇana*[30], a poem in 41 verses by Mahādeva, praises him as an incarnation of Śiva. On medicine he wrote *Dhanvantarivilāsa*[31] and *Dhanvantarisāranidhi.*[32] *Inakulatejonidhi*[33] and *Vākyāmṛta*[34] are his *Jyotiṣa* works.

He also wrote *Dharmaśāstrasārasaṅgraha*,[35] a digest on dharma.

Rājarañjana vidyāvilāsanāṭaka[36] by him is an allegorical play. *Advaita-tattva* forms the plot of this drama. In this play Tulajā has introduced *darus, dvipadas, Sīsapadya-s* and other forms of music.

Ekoji II (1736-39 A.D.), son of Tulajā I, and grandson of Ekoji I and Dīpāmbā, was another eminent *Vāggeyakarā* a great scholar proficient in several languages such as Sanskrit, Marathi and Telugu. He was also known as Bhāvā Sāheb.

The following works are referred as by him or ascribed to him:

Āryāśataka or *Devīmāhatmyaśāṭaka*[37] in *āryā* metre and *Gaṇeśa- kavaca*[37] are ascribed to him.

Prapañcāmṛtasāra or *Rājarañjanapurāṇa*[39] found in his name was written by Mahādeva, his court-poet.

Dīpāmbāmāhātmya[40] by him gives an account of the life of his grandmother Dipāmbā. This was also probably by Mahādeva.

Prapañcasāra Rājarañjanapurāṇa by Ekoji (Mahādeva) gives details about the King's religious deeds, his fillip and contribution to art and praises him as a great *bhakta* and of charitable nature. This work is divided into 70 headings.

Some other works found printed in his name are *Parabrahmatattvanirūpaṇa*,[41] *Tulajāmahārāja guṇa varṇana*[42] (Mahādeva ?) and *Uttamasevakanirūpaṇa*.[43]

A few verses are given here from his *Āryāśataka* and *Uttama-sevakanirūpaṇa:*

dalitebharājagamanā surapatisevyā satī dayā murtiḥ
duritaghni jalajākṣī kātyāyanī saptasis dhurūpāsi
(Aryā)

In this śataka verses 81-101 are in the form of a *Kavaca* prayer for the protection of Tulajā.

svāmī kārtikeyo vihitas tvayā yathā svarge
bhūloke tulajendram kuru devī tathaiva sārvabhaumaṁ tvaṁ
(89)

vācāmagocaram te lāvaṇyam devi varṇayāmi kathaṁ tvām
brahma svarūpam aguṇam tava mohayati smaradviṣam yat //

Uttamasevakanirūpaṇa[44] a section of *Prapañcāmṛtasāra* describes a good servant.

To Serfoji II (1800-32 A.D.) is ascribed *Kumārasambhavacampū*[46] in 4 *Āśvasas*. This work seems to have been influenced by Kālidāsa's literary work. The date of composition is given as 11th Dec. 1812 A.D. But Burnell gives the author as Cokkanātha.

The following verse shows the influence of Kālidāsa's *Kumarasambhava*.

yathā tathāstu vā śivaḥ prabhur mamāyam eva me /
manaḥ sthiram hare vṛthā dvijātra doṣa varṇanam //

Section C

In the following account references are given to Kāvyas written by various authors, who were associated with Tamil Nadu, but whose dates and other details need further evidences.

Aṇṇā Bhāṇa is an anonymous work described in the Mackenzie collection.[1]

Aṇṇādīkṣita was the father of Subrahmaṇya Yajvan, who wrote *Vaḷḷipariṇayacampū*.[2] The opening verse shows the poet's capacity for fancy.

śrīmad dantimukhena ṣaḍvadanatā kasmāt tavetyādarāt /
pṛṣṭhe śailasutāṅkavartini guhe pratyukti śuśrūṣayā //
āghrātum me vadanāni samam umā pañcāsyayoh sañjayor /
harṣāyeti vadatyudañcad anayor mandasmitam pātu naḥ //

Gaṇeśa wants to know why he, Subrahmaṇya has six faces to which Guha replies that Śiva, who has five faces and Umā who has one face can have the pleasure of caressing him with the six faces simultaneously. This verse presents to us an imaginary conversation between Guha and Gaṇeśa which is full of humour.

Abhinava Kālidāsa or Kaliyuga Kālidāsa of Kāśyapagotra hailed from Kāñcī. He was the father of Śrīkaṇṭha. He mentions an elder brother styled as 'Sāhityabhūṣaṇa'

This Kālidāsa wrote a *bhāṇa*, *Śṛṅgārakośa* or *Śṛṅgāraśekhara*.[3]

Śrīkaṇṭha was the son of Kaliyuga Kālidāsa referred to above. He composed *Kandarpadarpaṇabhāṇa*,[4] intended to be staged at the spring festival of God Ekāmranātha of Kāñcī.

valayāṅka iti prathita aparanāmadheyasya bhagavataḥ
kāmakoṭi vallabhasya vasanta yātrotsava prasaṅgāya...

Rukminīpariṇaya [5]is a drama by Kavitārkikasiṁha, son of Veṅkaṭeśadeśika. He lived at Guptakuṭi (Kuṭṭakuṭi) is South Arcot district. He was the nephew of Kṛṣṇa, son of Nṛsiṁha, who wrote *Draupadīpariṇayanāṭaka.*[6]

On the same theme of the marriage of Rukmiṇi, Atreya Varada, wrote a drama.[7] The author was a resident of Veṅkaṭagiri in the 19th cent.

Godā or Āṇḍāḷ is well-known as Cūḍikkoḍutta, Cuḍarkkoḍi or Nappinnai and called as South Indian Mīrā. Many plays and stotras based on her marriage with Lord Raṅganātha (Mahāviṣṇu) were composed. A few of these are :

1. *Godāpariṇaya*[8] is a *nāṭaka* on the marriage of Varadarāja of Kāñcī and Āṇḍāl.
2. *Godāpariṇaya*[9] is a *nāṭaka* written by Śrīnivāsācārya *alias* Lokārya, grandson of Śrīśaila Śrīnivāsācārya.
3. *Godāpariṇaya* [10] is a *campū* in five *stabakas* describing the marriage of Āṇḍāḷ with Raṅganātha. The author of this work is Keśava Vedādhināṭha Bhattācārya.
4. *Godāprapatti.*[11]
5. *Godāmaṅgalāśāsana.*[12]
6. *Godāmajjanavaibhava* or *Cāpamajjanavaibhava*[13] by Śrī Raṅgarājadāsa. This deals with the merit acquired by bathing early in the morning and worshipping Lord Viṣṇu and Godā in the month of Mārgaḷi (Dec.-Jan.) or the month of *Dhanus.*

Divyacāpavijayacampū[14] was written by Cakravarti Veṅkaṭācārya, son of Śrīśailavarya and disciple of his grandfather Veṅkaṭācarya.[15] He studied *vedānta* under Vedantodayanācārya;[16] offers respects to his grandfather Kṛṣṇasūri and his brothers Veṅkaṭakṛṣṇa and Raghunātha. The author probably belonged to Kalyāṇapuram.

mātāmaho hṛdi mamāstu sa kṛṣnasūriḥ
yasyātmajo veṅkaṭakṛṣnāhvayaḥ yasyānujaḥ śrī
raghunātha sūriḥ

The Kāvya is on the holiness and the religious importance of Tiruppullani.

divākara śrī gopāladeśika karuṇārasa śiśirīkṛtā) Kaṭākṣalabdha vedāntadvaya sampadaḥ śrī veṅkaṭācāryasya kṛtiṣu divyacāpavijaye campūprabandhe ṣaṣṭhaḥ stabakaḥ.

The origin of Phullāraṇya and other holy legends connected with the shrine are also described.

kavayaḥ kati vā na santi teṣām kṛtayo vā atulacāturī guṇāḥ racayanti tathāpi kāvyam anye rasyantyeva tadatra paṇḍitāḥ

His other works are *Mūṣikapañcaka*[17] and *Vṛścikapañcaka.*[18] *Subhāṣitamañjari*[19] is an anthology by him.

Jīva, son of King Rājahaṁsa of Koneri and Jayantī, wrote *Nalānanda*, a drama in seven Acts. This play was composed by the grace of his paternal uncle Subrahmaṇya of Bhāradvāja gotra.

Durgaya[21] alias Nṛsiṁhasvāmin or Siṁhasvāmin or Sindhusvāmin was the son of Vāsudeva Bhaṭṭa of Ekaśakaṭagotra and Aditi, daughter of Nārāyana. He was a resident of Śrīraṅgam and a devotee of Lord Raṅganātha.[22] He wrote *Duṣkaramālā*,[23] a *citrakāvya* and a commentary *Viśadā* on it. In this work certain figures of speech in *Sabdālaṁkāra* are illustrated and the verses are in praise of God Viṣṇu. The book is divided into the following sections:

Prakīrṇapāda, Pratirūpaka, Prahelikāpraśnottara, Yamaka, Niyatasvarasthāna and *Prastāra.*

In the beginning of the work, the author says that he has written this work for the development of knowledge of the youngsters and for the delight of the learned people. He adds that it is in praise of Lord Viṣṇu.

vyutpattyartham ca bālānāṁ vinodārthaṁ vipaścitām
vidyā duṣkaramālakhyā viṣṇustutyā vitanyate
viṣvaksena viśālākṣa viśvātmam viśvasambhava
ananyam asmat santānam abhirakṣyam adhokṣaja.

An example for Vakrokti is the following verse:

kastvam śaṅkhī kuberaḥ kim harir nanu sarvabhuk
na bhūdharo bhujaṅgo asityevam gopya jitaḥ kaliḥ [24]

Navanītakavi, son of Vedapurīśayajvan of Vādhūlagotra wrote *Mārgasahāyacampū* or *Viriñcināthacaritacampū*[25] describing the greatness of *Viriñcinātha* or *Mārgasahāya* at Viriñcipura near Vellore. The author refers to his father in the introductory portion of this work.

(vyādhūtapāpmā) puri padmayonervādhūlavaṁśārṇava
pūrṇacandraḥ
aprākṛtau vedapurīśayajvā viprāvataṁsasvayam āvirāsīt
tanayastasya sam (panna) vinayah śaṅkarājñayā
viriñcipuranāthasya caritam kurute kṛtī

colophon:

ityavanitalaprasiddha navanītakavi viracite viriñci-
puranāthacarite dvitīyāśvāsaḥ

colophon:

navanītakaver navīna sūktair avanimaṇḍala
maṇḍanā (yamānaiḥ)
navanīradamaṇḍalaiḥ kavīndra navanipa iva
nanditā bhavantu

Nārāyaṇa, son of Lakṣmīdharādhvarin[26], was a master of all *śāstras*. He is said to be a resident of Brahmadeśa on the banks of Pālār, near Kāñcīpuram.

The drama *Kamalākaṇṭhirava*,[27] on the marriage of Kaṇṭhirava with Kamalā was written by him.

Nṛsiṁhakavi, son of Veṅkaṭakṛṣṇa of Bhāradvāja gotra and a resident of Triplicane wrote the allegorical play, *Anumitipariṇaya*.[28]

Raṅganātha, who lived on the banks of the river Tāmraparṇi, wrote *Damayantīkalyāṇa*. This was staged at the spring festival of God Parameśvara of Śucīndram Temple.[29]

Lokanātha Bhaṭṭa, son of Kaviśekhara Varadācārya, wrote the one Act play, a *prekṣaṇaka*, *Kṛṣṇābhyudaya*.[30] This play was written at Kāñcipuram for being enacted at the Varadarājasvāmi temple.

Varadācārya, was the son of Anantārya of Bhāradvājagotra, grandson of Srinivāsācārya and grand-pupil of Srutaprakāśikācārya. He wrote *Vasantabhūṣaṇabhāṇa*.[31]

(Kastūri) Raṅganātha, disciple of Veṅkaṭakṛṣṇamārya of Śrīvatsagotra wrote *Samavakāra* in three Acts, *Raghuvīravijaya*,[32] on the marriage of Sītā and Rāma. In the end of this work the dates of the birth, marriage, exile and coronation of Rāma are given.

jato varṣe vilambinya jajuṣi mihire jāgratīndau navamyām
saumye 'bde māsi mīne janakanṛpasutāṁ pūrṇimāyām udūhya /
dundubhyabde ca caitre vipinam adhigato māsi mīne yuvābde
hatvā śatrūn sa dhātau khalu madhu samaye rāghavo rājyam āpa //

Venkaṭācārya, son of Nainārācarya of Prativādi Bhayaṅkara family wrote Rukminīpariṇaya.[33]

Vāsantikāpariṇaya[34] was by Vaṇ Śaṭhagopa, the 7th pontiff of the Ahobala Mutt and was the great grandson of Anantārya.

The author was a native of Bālavanam (Ilaṅgāḍu) in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. His original name is said to be Tirumala and had the title 'Kavitārkikakaṇṭhīrava'. The drama was intended to be staged at the vernal festival of Nṛsiṁha of Ahobila Mutt.

Vīrarāghavācārya, was the son of Śrīśailasūri, and grandson of Ahobalārya of Vatsagotra, who was the disciple of Varadadeśikārya, son of Śrī Raṅgācārya of Vādhūlagotra.

He wrote the play *Indirāpariṇaya* [35] which is in 5 Acts. It was written at the order of Lord Raṅganātha. The theme is on the marriage of Mahāviṣṇu and Lakṣmī. This play was staged at the Caitrotsava at Śrīrangam.

Veṅkaṭakavi was a Śrīvaiṣṇava. He was the son of Veṅkaṭa Vīrarāghava of Bālaśayana or Iḷampaḷḷi family. He was a resident of Gingee. In the beginning of his work he salutes Vedānta Deśika.

Vibudhānanda Prabandha,[36] was written by him. Here there are descriptions of various sacred shrines. Two persons, Bālapriya and Priyaṁvadā undertake a journey to Baḍarikāśrama, to attend the marriage of Śīlavatī with Makaranda, son of Kandarpa, the King of Kamalinī. During their journey they visit several places in India and their description is given in this work in the form of a conversation between two parrots.

Veṅkaṭanāthadīkṣita wrote a commentary, *Kalānidhi* on *Hariharavilāsa*.[37]

Veṅkaṭarāghava, son of Śrīnivāsārya of Vādhūlagotra, pupil of Vādhūla Veṅkatācārya wrote a Campu *Hayavadanavijaya*.[38]

Veṅkaṭavarada, son of Appaḷācārya of Vīravalli family, grandson of Varadācarya, and great - grandson of Śrīnivāsācārya of Kauṇḍinyagotra wrote the *ḍima*, *Kṛṣṇavijaya*.[39] The Acts are divided into *yavanikāntaras*. In this *ḍima* it is stated that even at the age of 80 the author wrote several works.

Veṅkaṭasubbā Kavi of unknown date wrote the following works: *Gaṅgādharavijaya*,[40] *Saptasthānacampū* [41] and a Śivastotra.

Veṅkaṭācārya, son of Śrīraṅgācārya composed *Vedavallīpariṇaya*.[42]

Veṅkaṭācārya, son of Pāttrācārya wrote *Raghunandanavilāsakāvya*.[43]

Veṅkaṭācārya, son of Tirumala Aṇṇayārya who was the preceptor of Kandāḷa Śrīnivāsācarya, wrote *Bāṇāsura vijaya* campū.[44]

Veṅkaṭācāryasūri or Pāttrācārya (or Veṅkaṭasūri) wrote *Harivaṁśacampū*, *Kokilasandeśa* and *Vaidarbhakanyācarita*.[45]

Śrīnivāsakavi of Śrīmuṣṇam, who belonged to Kauṇḍinya gotra, was the son of Varadanārāyaṇa of Vīravalli family. He composed the drama, *Ambujavallīkalyāṇa*.[46]

(Kavitārkikasiṁha) Vedāntācārya was the author of *Vedāntācārya- vijaya campū* or *Ācāryavijaya*.[47] He was the nephew and disciple of (*paravastu*) Nigamāntasūri and son of Veṅkaṭācārya of Kauśikagotra. This *Campū* is in six *stabakas* and gives an account of the life of Vedānta Deśika and the disputations held by him with the advaitin, Kṛṣṇamiśra and the victory gained by him over the opponents.

Śrīnivāsarāghava was the son of Veṅkaṭācārya of Kauśikagotra. He belonged to the Elayavalli family and lived at Śrīraṅgam. *Kṛṣṇābhyudaya kāvya*[48] in four cantos was composed by him.

Śrīnivāsa Vedāntācārya, native of Bhūtapuri or Śrīperumbudūr, belonged to the Ātreyagotra. He was the son of Vedāntārya.

Rasollāsabhāṇa [49] which was presented at the Upavanayātrā of Ādikeśava at Bhūtapuri, was composed by him.

Śrutakīrtivilāsacampū,[50] was written by Sūryanārāyaṇa of Bhāradvājagotra. Śrutakīrti, a brahmin of Viriñcipuram, near Vellore, visits several places and an account of these are given in this work.

Sītāpariṇaya[51] and its commentary are found described in the Madras Govt. Ori.Ms.Library collection. The author of the text and commentary is mentioned as Sūryanārayaṇādhvarin. The identity of the author is not clear.

Svāmi Śāstrin was the author of a *kāvya*, *Hariścandrābhyudaya*[52] in five *stabakas*.

Svāmi Śāstrin, son of Anantanārāyaṇa Śāstrin of Trichy and brother of Subrahmaṇya Sudhī, wrote *Śṛṅgārasarvasvabhāṇa*.[53]

Sāmbaśiva, disciple of Svāmi Śāstrin, who was the son of Āpaduddhāraṇa of Bhāradvājagotra, wrote *Śṛṅgāravilāsabhāṇa.*[54]

The following are a few Kāvyas or dramas based upon the uttarakāṇḍa of the *Rāmāyaṇa.*

Veṅkaṭakṛṣṇasūri of Vādhūla gotra, son of Veṅkaṭādri and Maṅgā wrote *Rāmāyaṇottaracampū.*[55] On this, Rāmasvāmi Śāstrin, son of Saptarṣi Śāstri of Lālguḍi wrote a *vyākhyā.*[56]

The names of the author and the commentator are given in the colophon.

śri raṅgānatikabhāji sahyatanayātīraṁgate sadmanā
sāraṅgāṅka bhṛtas trayī mukha kalā pāraṅgatairścojjvale /
śnmal lālguḍi pure tata ito grāma pravekairvṛte
rāmasvāmi kaviśvaro jayati sad rāmastavodyukta vāk //

kausalyā suta vṛtta varṇanakṛtī saptarṣi śāstrāhvayaḥ
kauṇḍinyānvyajaśca yasya janako mātā ca sītāhvayā /
rāmasvāmi kavi mary ajuḥ śrutinidhi rukmāṅgadagranthakṛcca
sādhum veṅkaṭakṛṣṇasūri ratam vyākhyāmṛtam so akrita //

Vātsya Varadācārya alias Vīra Rāghava, wrote a *campū kāvya*, based on the *Uttarakāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. This *Campū* also is named as *Rāmāyaṇottaracampū.*[57] The author belonged to Tiruvellore and was the son of Veṅkaṭārya of Śrīvatsagotra and Śrīśailāmbā. He pays respects to the deities at Tiruvellore temple in the beginning of his work.

śrīvīkṣāvana maṇḍana śrutivadhū sīmanta sīmollasat
sindūrāruṇa natāṅghri viśvajanamātta līlā rasam /
kalyāṇāspadam astahemasamam kalyāṇavallī sakham
prāpyam tat khalu vīrarāghava parabrahma prapadyāmahe //
mama śubhāguṇa nīvī maṅgalārthāya devī /
bhavatu kanakavallī bhakta saṅkalpavallī //

Uttaracampū[58] based on the *Rāmāyaṇa* by Viṣṇupuram Subrahmaṇya, son of Kṛṣṇa Daivajña appears to be a recent work.

A few works on the genealogy and life of the Colas are found in manuscripts. They are said to be from the *Bhaviṣyottarapurāṇa*. These are considered to have been written after the l0th cent.

Of these, one is *Colacaritra*[59] or *Ṣoḍaśacolacaritra* which is a legendary account of sixteen Cola Kings and is ascribed to the *Kṣetrakhaṇḍa* of

Bhaviṣyottarapurāṇa. Another one is *Colavaṁśāvali*[60] ascribed to the same *purāṇa*, *Dakṣiṇakhaṇḍa*, *Jambūdvīpodhava*. Yèt a third work is *Ceracolakathānaka*,[61] belonging to the same *purāṇa*.

Colabhāṇa by Varadācārya is also found.

Notes and References

Section A

1. For his identity see Ch. on Advaita writers.
2. Nītidviṣaṣtikā, ALS.ll2. Intro. pp.xiv ff.
3. TSS.55, Trivandrum,l977. (2) with Eng. Translation College Book House,Trivandrum,l974.
4. Ibid. p.3.
5. Ibid. pp.ll,l7,l9.
6. TSS. pp.8-9.
7. *Bhagavadajjukīyam*, A Prahasana of Bodhāyana Kavi with commentary Ed. P.Anujan Acchan, Trichur,l925.
8. Ibid. p.l. '*Bodhāyanakaviracite vikhyāte Bhagavadajjukābhihite*'
9. *Bhagavadajjukīyam*, Introduction pp. xvi-xix.
10. *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, VII, p.219 ff. for an analysis of this inscription.
11. Mamandur Inscription. l.l3.
12. *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art* VI.1938. pp.195-96.
13. *Epigraphia Indica*, XVII, p.l6.
14. *Inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State* (Texts) No.2.
15. *South Indian Inscriptions*, XII, No.7.
16. *Bhojaprabandha*, p.27l.
17. Verses of his are quoted in *Subhāṣitāvalī* and *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*; NCC Vol.VIII, p.305a.
18. *ASK*, pp.l0,ll. TSS. edn.

19. Ibid. pp.9-12.
20. Ibid. p.13.
21. Ibid. p.12.
22. Ibid. p.13
23. Ibid. p.13.
24. Ibid. p.14
25. *Mātṛdatta, friend of Daṇḍin, Journal of Oriental Research.* Madras, Vol.XIX. pp.159-65.
26. MT.5507. The Introductory part contains an account of the life of the author.
27. (Śrī) Jayanta may be identical with his name-sake who was the nephewand son-in-law of Bhavarāta and who completed his father-in-law's work *Jaiminīyasūtravṛtti.* See MṪ.5507, Vol.VII. Part 1, p.7587.
28. *ASK*, p.16
29. P.V.Kane, *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, pp.96ff, 124.
30. T.V. Mahalingam, *Kancipuram in Early South Indian History*,p.61.
31. P.V.Kane, op.cit. pp.96ff.
32. A. Sankaran, *Rasa and Dhvani*, pp.22-27.
33. V. Raghavan, *Bhoja's Sṛṅgāraprakāśa*, p.612.
34. K. Kunjunni Raja, The Date of Bhāmaha, *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, XXVIII, pp.38-43.
35. Agashe's edition of *DKC*, Intro.p.lxviii.
36. *ASK*. vv.2-12. TSS.edn. pp.1-3.
37. *ASK*. pp.91-93.
38. Ibid. pp.105-7.
39. Ibid. pp.65-6.
40. *South Indian Inscriptions* I. pp.144-55; Cf: *ASK*, pp.106-8.
41. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, III.i.p.389.

42. G.Harihara Sastri, *Avantisundarikathā Sāra*, Intro.pp.i-iv.
43. Preface, p.3. to ASK.
44. Ed. G.Harihara Sastri, K.S.R.I, Chennai-4. 1947
45. VR.op.cit.pp.836-39.
46. NCC, IV.pp.205a-6b.
47. "*iti gāṇakīharaṇa mahākāvya simhalakaveratiśaya bhūtasya Kumaradāsasya kṛtau*".
48. Cūḷavaṁsa, i.51.
49. Sūktimuktāvali, p.45 (v.76)
50. p.12. *GOS*.edition. Kāvyamīnāṁsā
51. MT.2935.
52. *Journal of the Ceylon branch of Royal Asiatic Society*,N.S.,IV.1971.
53. New Catalogus Catalogorum Vol.IV.p.206a-b.
54. 1. Ed. Senarai Paranavitana and C.E.Godakumbara, Ceylon Academy of Leters, Colombo, 1967, 2.With English translation by C.R.Swaminathan, Motilal Banarsidas, New Delhi, 1972.
54a. Alwis pp 188-95
55. MD.12744. Mysore I. p.272.
56. ABN.5.
57. Epi.Car.II.67. p.260.

    kāvya kavih Cūḍamaṇih kavīnam cūdamaninām a sevya Śrīvarddhàdeva eva hi kṛtapuṇyah kīrtmāhartum / ya evam upaślokito daṇḍinā jahnoh kanyām jaṭāgreṇa babhāra Parameśvarah Śrīvarddhadevaḥ sandhatse jihavāgreṇa sarasvatim.

58. M.A., *History of Tamil Literature*, 10th cent. p.42 ff.
59. *Kavicaritre* Pt.I. p.8. Fn.1 also *Jinaratnakośa* I.p.303b.
60. *Epi.Ind.* XXIV. p.90; *Journal of Indian History* XIII. pp.131 ff.
61. With Tamil translation by R.Kannan Svami, 91, Tulasinga Mudali St, Perambur, Madras-11.

62. See NCC Revised edn. I.p.364a.
63. Mysore I. p.70
64. MD. 9730
65. VKSN. *op.cit.* p.56 See also Ch.VI p.21 above.
66. Adyar D.X. 480-1. Extr. pp.399-401.
67. MT. 1034(b). 6118.
68. MT. 5111. 5523. See NCC VI.p.389
69. MT. 5128
70. Śg. I.p.162
71. TD.4612
72. VKSN.*op. cit* p.58
73. Adyar D.X.330 (inc.). Extr pp.315-16.
74. TD.4530
75. See VR. *Proceedings AIOC.* X. Tirupati. pp.181-3.
76. MT.2508.
77. See NCC, Revised edn.I, pp.78a-b.
78. *Sar.Mahal.Libr.* Tanjore, 1958.
79. TD.9467-9. For his works see NCC IV. pp.204a-b
80. *Saṅgitasudhā* Intro. pp.62-3.
81. *Sāhityaratnākara* VI.36.
82. *Raman TD.* 9467-9. See also NCC IV. pp.204a-b
83. MT. 2508
84. See VR. Proceedings AIOC. X Tirupati pp.181-3
85. In Grantha script, Kumbhakonam.
86. Ibid.
87. See NCC I. Revised edn. pp.204b, 205a.
88. TD 4626

89. TD.4572

90. *Sandhyāsandhukṣitāmbhodharanālikā gaṇadudgatam sīsakhaṇḍam stanakarannirodhum sasiravi-kapatadbibhrato Ratnakheṭau anyonyam yudhyamānau udayacarama bhūbhṛta pravirau itidra guktyakhyataparakhyaḥ kṣitipativacasā Ratnakhetādhavarīti/*

'Bālarāmāyaṇa'

91. See Prologue, *Bhāvanāpuruṣottama*, TD.4427.

92. *Rukmiṇīkalyaṇa* - Commentary Rākāsudhākra by Bālayajñavedīśvara.

93. *HCSL.* pp.234-5.

94. Rice 234

95. Jagadhitecchu Press, Poona,1871.

96. *Kāvyadarpana* pp.viii-ix Vāṇi Vilās Press, Srirangam. Vol I. Ullasas I - VI.

97. *TSS.*

98. Ptd 1) Cantos I & II only. Adyar Libr. 1929.
2) Vani Vilas Ser.9. Srirangam.

99. *Sahṛdayā* Vols. 17-18.

100. (1) Ed. P.M.Padmanabha Sarma JTSML, XIX, 1-2, 1-8. Index of verses XX. 2-3.1

101. Adyar D.V.1312. MD.12495. The Prologue gives the geneology of the author and refers to Raghunātha Nāyaka's works *Pārijātaharaṇa* and *Nalābhyudayn* etc.,

102. 1) *Arsamudraksarasala*, in Telugu characters 1872.
2) Vizagapatnam Vani Vilas Press, Srirangam 1917.

103. Ed. E.R.Rama Bai with Eng. translation Elango Achukoodam, Chennai 4.

104. TD. 3731.

105. *Panjab Uni. Ind. Ser.27.* V.V.R.Inst. Hoshiarpur, 1981.

106. MD. 1843.5605

107. TD.7631. See also VR. *SV.* pp.23,44.

108. See NCC VII. pp.47a-b.

109. MD. 11703

110. Hz.2940 (a). Extr.p.114; TD.3777-80

111. MT.2940 (a)

112. Adyar D.V.781. MD.16327. TD.4067

113. TD.3850-1.

114. TD.3855.

115. TD.4585.

116. TD. 4035.

117. *Madanabhūṣaṇa*. Beg. 4585.

118. Trav.Univ. 8286 (D). (inc.).

119. MD. 126640.

120. Arsha Press, Vizagapatnam,

121. MD. 12340.

122. IO. 7897. 12430.

123. MD. 12340

124. Probably Tirumala Nāyak of Madura or a Naik of Tenkāśi. (A.D.1653) In an inscription of this date the latter is described as the chief Pāṇḍya (?)

125. See *ALB.4* pp.18 ff.

126. See VR. *AIOC.* 14th session Darbhanga, also *SV.* pp.56-57 and *JOR*, Madras XIX. pp.157-8

127. *iti śri kauṇḍinyakula..... Raghunāthāvadhāni tanayasya jānakīgarbha janmanaḥ kavirākṣasāparanāmadheyasya Muddurāmakaveh kṛtau rasatilakabhāṇaḥ samāpataḥ.*

128. *ALB.* XIX. p.152.

129. *Uṇādimaṇidīpikā* v.8.

130. Benedictory verse of *Śabdabhedanirūpaṇa.*

131. *Nāmāmṛtarasāyana* sl.4.

132. *Paribhāṣāvṛttivyākhyāna.* sl. 7.
cf. also *Uṇādimaṇidīpikā.* śl. 4-6

133. *Prastāvanā* of *Rāghavābhyudaya* of Bhagavantarāya.

134. *KM.* 51.

135. Ed. with Eng. Translation by L.V. Ramachandra Iyer, Madras, 1906.

136. KM. 44.

137. TD. 5720-21 (inc).

138. TD. 7631-33.

139. Ibid. 5301.

140. Ed. K.Kunjunni Raja, Madras University, Chennai 1972.

141. Adyar D.V. 1848.

142. *KM.* 51, p.7.

143. Ibid. III. 46-63. VIII.18.

144. Ibid. III. 30-45.

145. Ibid. VI. 28-56.

146. Ibid. VIII. 19-30

147. Ibid. VIII. 31-32.

148. TD. 3826.

149. *Peruntokai* 1706. 1709

150. *Prayoga Vivekam.* p.14 Tanj. Sar. Mahal Ser.147. Tanjore, 1973.

151. KM. 44. p.2.v.4. See the account given above under the author.

152. Ibid. p.3. v.7.

153. Ibid. p.3d.

154. See VR. *SV.* Intro. pp.49-51.

155. MT.821 (g). TD.4633. in Grantha script.

156. See VR. *op.cit.*

157. *Vāṇī Vilās Press Skt. Ser.*21 Srirangam,1962. See VR.*SV.* pp.46-47.

158. MD. 12222-3. MT.4029 (c). 4147 (a). Sec C.R.Deshpande, *Studies in Campū Lit.* pp.73-74. Bharatiya Vidya Prakashan. Delhi, 1992.

159. GD.1476. Granthappura p.16 no.1496. Trav. Uni. 3549.

160. Adyar D. V. 1234. MD.12429. TD.4572-76.

161. *JTSML.* XXXVI. 19

162. TD.4340 (*Āśvāsa* 1 only)

163. Ibid.

164. TD.4340.

165. TD. 4529.

166. TD.VIII. pp.3518-19.

167. TD.4379-80.

168. TD. 4491.

169. TD. 4627-28

170. TD. VIII. pp.3518-19

171. *yasya darvīkaraśibkhāmaṇibhāsyam*
jihvāgra sanidhānam kamapyut -
karṣam puṣyati aprayāsa vijṛmbhamāṇa āśu-madhura
Citra- vistāra - kavitā sandarśita camat-
kārāya nāṭakapramukha rūpaka
Citretiṿrtta padyā pathika maṇīṣā
viśeṣāya tasmai ko nāma ślaghate

172. NCC I.Revised edn. pp.99a-b.

173. MT.6832. TD.4346-47.

174. See NCC.VI. pp.280b-81a

175. Printed in Madras, 1877, 1882.

176. *TSS.*24.

177. 1) *Sahṛdayā* Vols. IX-X. 2) Vānī Vilās Press, Srirangam, 1917.

178. MD.11715. MT.2752.

179. TD.4233. See also VR. *SV.* p.24

180. See VR. *op.cit.*

181. TD.4158. See *AIOC summaries* XXVIII. pp.52-3.

182. Visvabharati 1309. Extr pp. 204-05

183. Adyar D.V.1605.

184. See Bhavabhūti's *Mahāvīracarita. Punjab Uni Orl.publ.*p.306, fn.5. London, 1928.

185. *Śrī Vaśyavācā Bhavabbrūti Mahākavinrā viracitam Mahāvīracaritam nāma nāṭakam etavad bva asmin deśe dṛśyate Seṣamtu Rājaśekhareṇa dagdham iti prasiddhah.* See TD.VIII. pp.4433-5.

186. V.V. Mirashi, *Bhavabhūti* pp.73, 144.

187. N.S.Press, Bombay. 1906.

188. Adyar D.V.1335. MD. 12501.

189. Adyar D.X.262.

190. Adyar I.p.192a.

191. *French Inst. of Indology 46.* Pondichery.1972.

192. See Upodghāta p.7 ff.of com.

193. Ptd. in Grantharsatnamālā (2) in Telugu script. Bangalore,1888. See C.R.Deshpande *op.cit.* pp.74 ff.

194. Printed in Mysore, 1908. (Adyar D.V.1961). See C.R.Deshpande, *op.cit* pp.248 ff.

195. *Journal of Sanskrit College*, Mysore, 1936. 12.1-2

196. Adyar D.V. 1383. in Telugu script, Vidyātaraṅgiṣū Press. Mysore,1886.

197. *KM.* 90. N.S.Press, bombay, 1908.

198. *TSS.* 210. 1963.

199. See intro VR. *SV.* p.53

200. *Adbhutapañjara* Act. II. v.2.

201. TCD.1240. Travi Uni. T.512B (inc)

202. Adyar D.V. 1230-31. TD.4534. *KM.*55

203. TD.4158. see *AIOC. SUMMARIES* XXVII pp.52-3

204. *Śankaragurukulam Ser.10 (Patrika* Vol.III.9. 108, 109-16, 11.17-24, 12.25-32, IV. 13.33-48. 14.49-58. 15 Intr,

205. *Jivan Mukti* bely āṇa (*JM*). IV.4.

206. Ibid. 15

207. *Act.*V.48.

208. Ibid. 6-10.

209. MT. 788.

210. *KM.* 78, 1925.

211. There seems to be some doubt regarding the identity of the two Nalla Dikṣita; see VR. SV. p.51;

212. *priyaśiṣyasya tadīyavaṁśa janmanaḥ.*

213. TD. 4231.

214. See NCC II. p.390a.

215. See NCC VII. pp.136b-137a.

216. (1) Bombay 1878 (2) *Kāvyaratnākara* p.258. Is this by his grandson (?).

217. Rashtriya Sanskrit Samsthan. Delhi, *Ganganath Gha Kendriya Skt. Vidyapitha Text Ser.* No.18. Allahabad, 1983.

218. BORI. D. XIV 213.

219. TD. 4211. See VR.*SV.* p.59. *Tanj Sar Mah. Ser.*54; also G.V. Devasthali,*C.Kunhan Raja Presentation Vol.pp.*271-84.

220. Parasurāma Kalpa. Sūtra *GOS.* XXII. XXIII

221. Lalitāsahasranāmastotra with Commentary of Bhāskararāya. N.S. Press. Bombay.

222. PUL. I. p.127. Stein 226.

223. MT.2934 with C. Snehā by Durgāprasādayati.

224. TCD. 316.

225. Adyar II. p.24.

226. For correct identity of the author see VR. *SV.* Intro. p.28-9.

227. Hz.1605. Extr. pp.49-50. TD.4036.

228. See VR. *SV.* p.46.

229. See VR.,*SV*. p.43

230. (l) *KM*. 27. (2) *ALS* 59, 1947.

231. *Ganganatha Jha Kendriya Skt. Vidyāpīṭha Text Ser.*No.30, Allahabad, 1991.

232. MD. 12659

233. TD.3863

234. Mysore N.D. VIII.26435

235. Mad.Urù.Skt. Ser.7,1939.

236. VR. *SV*. p.25. fn.2. TD.4240. See also P.K.Gode, Journal of the Uni. of *Bombay* X.2.Sep.1941, p.135. fn.9.

237. See VR.*SV*. p.55

238. TD.10957.

239. Vāni Vilās Press.Srirangam.

240. p.See VR.*SV*. 55

241. TD.4475

242. Ibid. 4473-4. But this is ascribed to Serfoji

243. TD.10957 (inc.)-58.

244. TD.5029-31.

245. See Cols. 5029. 5031.

246. TD.3792. See NCC.VII.p.338a.

247. TD.3966. See NCC.X. p.177a.

248. See *Tattvabindu*, Intro.p.160; Intro.also to *Bhāṭṭacintāmani*, Madras, 1934; P.K.Gode, *Stud.in Ind. Lit. Hist.* II. pp.4 ff.

249. Vāṛū Vilās Press. Sriraṅgam.

250. Komalamba Press. Kumbhakonam, 1922.

251. TD.4337. 4338 (Kalānandaka (?) chāyā)

252. VKSN. *Op.Cit* p.64

253. See MT. 2378

254. Mt.1702

255. MT.1680

256. See M.K., *Hist. of Class.Skt.*Lit.p.186.

257. With commentary and preface of Vadhūla Tatta Srinivasachariar with Eng. Intro by D.V.Gopalachariar.

258. His works are with N.C.Narasimhachariar, High Court Vakil, Karur and K.T.Parthasarathy Aiyangar, Mirasdar. Velur.

259. See VR, *SV.* p.25

260. TD. 4238.

261. TD.4235.

262. Ibid. 4236.

263. ALB XXIII pp.131-5.

Section B

1. See NCC VI. pp.80a-b.

2. See p.3 of the printed edition.

3. Madras Govt.Orl.Ser. No.5. 1939.

4. MD. 12377.

5. *parihāsa rasād gāḍhah sphāṭike yadguhā gṛhe /*
nātho na jñāyate gauryā kaṇṭhe kālo na cedasau //

6. MT. 2083 (a).

7. *yaśśaiva ḍimbha vinīta nikṛtta jihvam saṁprār thitātśaśidharāt*
gururāma nāmā /
cakre hyasau ca hasanam jayatādasau yad vācām prabandha karaṇeṣu
ca bhāra leśaḥ //

8. MT. 2088.

9. MT. 3879 (f).

10. Adyar D.V. 1430. MD. 12576.

11. *Journal of the Sri Veṅk. Ori.Inst.* III. Tirupati, 1960.

12. *Acyutarāyābhyudaya.*

13. MT. 3489. 5602.

14. *CP. Stone Ins. in Nellore Dt.* Ed. D.Butterworth. pp.125-57. 98-108. *Epi.Ind.* III. p.150.

15. See *Vivekapatramālā* Ind.Ant. 1918. pp.82-94; cf.also *Vibhāga- ratnamālā*, MT:1738.

16. MT.3919 (a). 7513.

17. *Sri Vidya Press.* Kumbhakonam.

18. See *Queveres Poetiques de Nilakaṇtha Dikṣita.* Pondichery, 1967. with French Transl; also New Catalogus *Catalogorum X.* pp.172a-73a.

19. (1) *K.M.* 76 (2) *Kasi Skt. Ser.*232 Chowkhamba Skt. Samsthan, Varanasi, 1985.

20. *Skt. Education Society.* Chennai, 1972.

21. *Vāṇī Vilās Press*, Srirangam, 1911.

22. (1) KM.VI p.143-58; V. pp. 132-42; IV. pp. 189-98; VI pp.12.20; I.pp.91-9 (2) *Minor poems* of Nīlakaṇtha Dikṣita (Laghu kāvyāni). *Balamanovamā* Ser.35. Madras 1942.

23. v. 13.

24. *Balamanorama* Ser.No.35. Madras, 1942.

25. *BORI* 48 of 1898-99; See also *JOR, Madras* II.pp.247-50.

26. *Mysore Sanskrit College Magazine* XXVI. 1-2. March- June 1950. pp.139-40.

27. See VR, *SV.*Intro pp.22; also *Tanjore as a seat of Music.* Seetha, pp.64ff.

28. *JTSML*; XVII.2.

29. *Music Academy Ser.* 5. Madras 1942.

30. This is from the *Prapañcāmṛtasārarāja rañjanapurāṇa* ptd. JTSML. XXXIII.

31. TD. 11066.

32. TD. 11069.

33. TD.11323.

34. TD.11327.

35. TD 18750-2.
36. *JTSML*. XII. 1958. Some more details of this work will be given in the chapter on Music.
37. *JTSML*. XXI.
38. TD. XX. Sup.no. 884 (f).
39. TD. 7655-6.
40. *JTSML*. XXXIII.1-3. 1-6.
41. Ibid. XXI. 2-3. p.1-20.
42. *JTSML*. XXXIII.
43. Ibid. XXXVI 1-3 with Tamil translation 105 verses.
44. JTSML. XXXVI. 1-3. 105 with Tamil translation.
45. TD. 23558.
46. I. of the *Śaṅkara Guru kulam* Srirangam I. 1. 1939 ff. *Śaṅkaragurukulam* Ser.5.

Section C

1. Mackenzie Mss. (restored) Vol.IV. no.117.
2. Adyar, in Grantha script. Madras, 1867.
3. MT. 752. 2720 (a). TD.4609-10.
4. Hz. 1683. III.p.70 (Extr.) TD.4581-8.
5. MD.12637.
6. MD.12522-24.
7. TD. XXI.8410, 8189. Ptd. Bombay.
8. MD.12513. Prativadibhayaṅkar. p.7 nos. 9,11.
9. MT.3144 (a).
10. Printed with Commentary Sumanorañjanī Sundararaja, Tenkasi, 1896.
11. Adyar D. IV. 2894 Extr. p.357
12. Adyar D. IV. 2895 Extr.p.352
13. MT.3510 (inc.). 7539 (inc.). 3504

14. MD.12302.

15. Ibid. MD.XXI.p.8233.

16. *iti śri cakravartikula kalaśa jaladhi kalāndhi Śrī Veṅkaṭācārya caraṇakamalamadhuvratamanasasya Śrīmad Vadāntodayanacaryavavaya kamalakarābala.*

17. MT. 636(c); 1328(b)

18. Ibid. 636(c); 1328(c);

19. MT.582. 636(a). 1328(a).

20. TD.4369-70

21. See NCC VI.p.

22. IO.5517 rol.14. *Raṅgeśapadābjasusaktaḥ Śathagotrājah*

23. GD. 1781-82. MT.5472 (a). TCD.1449.

24. MT. 5344a.

25. MT.3925 (Asvasas 1-5. 6 in.) Hz.2186.

26. Probably he held the position *Śūtakara* which is not clear : *Sarasvatibhāṇṭara surakaraḥ śrīmal Lakṣmidhar adhvarin.*

27. TD.4337 (inc.).

28. MD.12463.

29. MT.2914 (inc.). TCD.1283 (inc.). See K.K.Raja, *Contribution of Kerala to Sanskrit Literature p.222.*

30. TD.4679. Ed. by Narendranatha Sarma. Subhacintaka Press. Dikshitapura, Jabalpur. MP. 1964.

31. MT. 775.

32. MT. 1725.

33. TD.3066 (?)

34. MD. 12662.

35. Hz.1749(inc.). TD.4313 (inc.).

36. MD.12351.

37. MT.6003.

38. Adyar D.V. 1016. MT.5501.
39. MD.12744. MT. 5516.
40. Adyar D.V.504.
41. Ibid. 1011
42. Adyar
43. Ibid. 204.
44. MD.12319. MT.5560. Mysore ND.VIII.27043 27044 Extn No.433 p.27045.
45. See IO. 1938. p.1909.
46. MD.12464; MT.2507.
47. MD.12365.
48. MT.4016. Mysore I. p.244.
49. TD.4589.
50. MD. 12778.
51. MT.910 (a+b) (?)
52. TD.
53. MD.12709.
54. MT.2340. HTCL. 787.
55. Adyar D.V. 954. MD 1222-23.
56. In Grantha script. Madras, 1876
57. Adyar D. V. 943. MD. 12224.
58. Tyāgarajapuram, Kumbhakonam.
59. IO. 3456. Mack. 93.
60. IO. 6997.
61. Hz.262.

CHAPTER XIII

INSCRIPTIONAL LITERATURE

In this chapter a study of the contribution of Tamil Nadu to Inscriptional literature will be made briefly. The Inscriptions of the Pallava, Pāṇḍya and Cola rulers present to us several important factors regarding culture and also the ability of the scholars who composed these grants.

The following authors are referred to in the Copper Plate (CP) grants of the Pallava rulers who composed these inscriptions. These inscriptions are bilingual, the *Praśasti* part being in Sanskrit, the detail of the grant and purpose are mostly in Tamil. Here a few other inscriptions belonging to this period on stone are also given. On the Dharmarājaratha in Māmallapuram are inscribed *birudas* of a Pallava King Narasiṁha. In the Gaṇeśa Temple at the same place, ll verses in praise of Siva and Narasiṁhavarma Pallava are given, using *śleṣa*. The Copper Plate grant at Kuram[1] by Parameśvara I which is in Sanskrit and Tamil in verse and prose is noteworthy from several aspects. This grant describes the fight between Narasiṁha and Cālukya Vikramāditya very beautifully in several verses. In addition the grant of village Parameśvaramaṅgalam is referred to, which was divided into 25 parts. Of these three were given to Anantaśivācārya and Phullaśarman who looked after the rituals and maintenance of the temple of Śiva (Pināka pāṇi) at Kuram, the fourth part for providing water and fire for the *maṇṭapa* at Kuram and the fifth for reciting the *Bhārata*, in this *maṇṭapa*. The remaining 20 parts were given to Vedic scholars.[2]

Medhāvi,[3] a scholar well-versed in all the scriptures and who was like Bṛhaspati composed the *Praśasti* part of Pallankovil Copper Plates grant of Siṁhavarman (550 A.D.). The Udayendiram grant of Nandivarman II (749 A.D.) was composed by Parameśvarakavi,[4] son of Śrī Candradeva of Medhāvikula. This grant was made at the request of Udayacandiran, Commander of the army and it records the grant of lands to the Brahmins well-versed in Vedas. Another Copper Plate grant is the one from Taṇḍantoṭṭam near Kumbhakoṇam. This bilingual grant was composed by Parameśvara Uttarakāraṇika,[5] son of Paramottarakāraṇika. A list of donees (nearly 214) is

given. Verses based on *śleṣa* are also found. There are references to several Vedic scholars who were proficient in three or four Vedas and ancillary texts, to the followers of different *sūtras* like the *Āpastamba* and the *Āśvalāyana*. This grant also gives us an insight into the position of Vedic studies during the Pallava period and also the religious interest the people had. The donations of land made by the king show the interest and the respect the rulers had in Vedas and Vedic scholars.[6]

Manodhira,[7] Parama Māheśvara (great devotee of Śiva) composed the *Praśasti* part of the Velūrpāḷayam Copper Plate grant, located near Arakonam. Nandivarman III, a great Śaivite and the hero of the Tamil poem *Nandikkalampakam* issued this grant. This grant which is in 28 verses praises Brahman, then Śiva. As in a few other inscriptions, here also the genealogy of the Pallava rulers is given with their legendary origin. Nandivarman's devotion to Śiva and the construction of the Śiva temple at Tirukkāṭṭuppalli are described. Bāhūr, near Pondicherry, was a great centre of learning during the Pallava period. This grant[8] was issued during the time of Nṛpatuṅgavarma, son of Nandivarman III and three villages were gifted by Martāṇḍa to the great centre of learning (*Vidhyāsthāna*) in Bāhūr which attracted several scholars, a feudatory chief, with the permission of the king.[9] The *Praśasti* was composed by Nāgaya,[10] a learned scholar and employee of Bāhūr Vidyāsthāna. In this college of Bāhūr fourteen *vidyās* were taught.

All these inscriptions which are bilingual, show much influence of mythology while giving an account of the Pallava dynasty. In these bilingual grants the *Praśasti* portion is in Sanskrit. Here a few observations on the literary merits, as well as the references to the various Gods of Hindu pantheon in the opęning verses of the Kaśakkuḍi Copper Plate grant and other cultural details as gleaned from these grants are given below. Sage Bhāradvāja was the son of Śaṁyu who possessed an effulgence like the fire.[11] In a verse in the Kaśakkuḍi Copper Plate grant he is descried as having seen the three Vedas as mountains.[12] In *Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa* of the *Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda*, this reference occurs. Indra shows to Bhāradvāja the Vedas as three mountians. In the Udayendiram grant Nandivarman is compared to Bharata, Sarvadamana (who puts down all the other kings).[14]

The author of this grant is Trivikrama. The verse referring to him speaks of him as a man of straightforward nature, one who has performed sacrifices according to the three Vedas and as one who knows the purport of all the Śāstras.

ākṛtrimas trayīvidhikrama kratupravartikaḥ [15]

Trivikrama pays homage to all the important deities of the Hindu pantheon. The first verse describes the Supreme Being as the Creator, sustainer and the destroyer of this Universe, and refers to him as of the form of truth, without beginning and end, of the form of knowledge, unique and as the abode of immortality.[16] These are all the thoughts on Supreme Being as handed down from the Upaniṣads. Trivikramāvatāra of God Viṣṇu is invoked for the welfare of humanity. Here the author addresses God as *māyāvin*[17] as he cunningly took away the possessions of Bali.

māyāvinā yena padatrayārthinā
sadyaḥ pravṛddhena punar baler makhe /
vicakrame trijagatas svasātkṛto.
sa vo astu bhūtyai bhagavāns trivikramaḥ /[17a]

The next verse [18] which is full of alliteration, using the word *dhara*, 'bearing' describes Śiva as bearing the moon on head, Ganges on his head, snakes on his shoulder and Pārvati on his left side. Viśṇu and Śiva are praised in the form of Harihara in the fourth verse of this grant. The next two verses are addressed to Goddess Lakṣmi and Durgā, the sister of Viṣṇu.[19] It is interesting to note that in this verse, the poet says that Cupid mistook Durgā for Śivā, on seeing the third eye of hers and worshipped her saying that he has not come there for giving trouble to Śiva as he did on a previous occasion. Durgā is invoked for putting down *alakṣmī*.[20] (inauspiciousness).

Gaṇeśa is praised for removing the obstacles. This verse is in lucid style:

kailāsagauraḥ pṛthunāgakakṣyaḥ
proddhṛtta - karṇo bṛhadekadantaḥ /
mātaṅgavaktro madanighna netro
bhūyādavighnāya vināyako vaḥ //
maulau Indu dharaḥ Phaṇādharadharaḥ skande
bhavānīdharo vāme kāmadharaḥ praṇā (mā) nirate /
Gaṅgādharo mūrdhni mūrtodhūḷidharo gale gara dhasraḥ
keśeṣu venīdharaḥ pāṇau śūladharaḥ haraḥ
puraharaḥ puṣṇātu vo maṅgalam //

The author then gives the mythological origin of the Pallava rulers.

This long and beautiful invocatory portion ends with a prayer for the protection of the Pallava lineage, addressed to the heavenly beings and the noble ones who live on this earth. Then the mythological origin of the Pallava dynasty, their greatness, king Nandivarman Pallavamalla, the purpose of the

grant are given.[21] The author's fondness for *anuprāsa* or alliteration is found exhibited throughout the grant. The following lines have the repetition of letter la:- *sahela kallola samudravāraṇa* [22] and *sakala kalikāḻa kala(n)ka kāluṣyāḥ.*[23] While describing Droṇa and the Pallava king Aśokavarman, the two words *droṇa* and *śoka* are skilfully repeated.[24]

In grandeur and richness of style the prose part of the *praśasti* stands on par with the style of Sanskrit prose writers like Bāṇa. The following lines giving an account of Nandivarman Pallavamalla and their ancestors bear evidence to the author's skill in adapting this style.

parameṣṭhi pada paṅka(he) ruha yugala vigalita dhūli dhūsara
śirasā vuva(pu) raskṛta devabrāhmaṇa pūjānaśanena tiraskṛta
kalikāla
kalikāpīḍaṅa vyasanena vivardhamāna pratāpānala
pariśoṣitāmitramaṇḍalena [25]
khaṇḍita kalayaḥ paṇḍita matayaḥ lakṣitamūrtayo rakṣita kīrtayaḥ.[26]

In another context the Pallavas are described as similar to God Subrahmaṇya. Based upon *śleṣa* (double entendre) or words with double meaning the said passage runs thus:

sarve'pi sarvatrāvihata śaktayo
mahāsenaḥ pāvakajanmānaḥ
padmodbhavāḥ subrahmaṇyāh kumārā iva.[27]

The Pallavas had their prowess unimpeded (the Lord has the weapon Śakti), possessed big armies (is known as Mahāsena), source of purity (was born from fire), born from the lotus (was born in a lotus),[28] are religious or devoted to sacred knowledge (is called Subraḥmaṇya), had beautiful youthful form (is called Kumāra). The technical terms used in the science of polity and grammar are aptly used in a description to bring out the greatness of the Pallava rulers.

śabdāgama iva prakṛti pratyaya. āgamopetāḥ
nirapavāda vṛddhi-guṇāśca.[29]

(l) *Prakṛti* - according to *Arthaśāstra* means the constituent elements or powers of states. They are seven according to Kauṭilya and Manu.

'The king, the minister, the country, the fortified city, the treasury, the army, and the ally are the constituent elements of the state.[30]

(2) *Pratyaya* - testimony or confidence.[31]
(3) *Āgama* - acquisition.[32]
(4) *Vṛddhi* - increase in revenue etc.[33]
(5) *Guṇa* - measures of foreign policy.

"The circle of constituent elements (*prakṛti*) is the basis of foreign policy or *Guṇa*. Peace, war, staying quiet, marching, seeking shelter and dual policy, constitute the six measures, say the teachers."[34] In the science of grammar, *prakṛti* means stem, *pratyaya* a suffix, *āgama* a grammatical augment, *apavāda* an exception or special rule setting aside a general rule, *vṛddhi* and *guṇa* vowel gradations.

The Pallava rulers were enjoined with the acquisition of the confidence of the constituent elements of the state, then fiscal policy and their measures of foreign policy were free from censure (*nirapavāda*). This kind of their rule is compared to the science of Grammar. The knowledge and skill of the poet in using the language is clearly understood from this passage. The references given above highlight the poet's skill. The perfect ease with which the poet has handled the Sanskrit language is noteworthy.

The Pāṇḍya inscriptions show not only the composers' literary attainments, but also several other cultural factors pertaining to religion, philosophy and others. In these grants the invocatory verses praise Brahma, Viṣṇu and Śiva. In the Śrīvaramaṅgalam grant, the poet offers prayers to Brahma and describes him as the author of the Vedas, through his four faces, he having tawny matted hair, and seated on the lotus appearing from the navel of Viṣṇu.

brahmavyañjita viśvatantram anagham vaktraiś caturbhir gṛṇan.
bibhrat bāla pataṅga piṅgalataracchāyan jaṭāmaṅḍalam/
ādyan nābhisaraḥ prasūti kamalam viṣṇor adhiṣṭāyakaḥ
puṣṇātu pramodañ cirāya bhavatām purāṇo muniḥ// [35]

He is eulogised as the creator of the universe and the beings, in another verse found in the Dalavāypuram Copper Plate grant.

yasyotpādyam asuradanjāmbhodayaḥ saptalokāḥ [36]

In Kālidāsa's *Kumārasambhava* in a *stotrā* on Brahma, the Lord is referred to as *jagadyoni* [37].

The Lord Viṣṇu as the originator and retriever of the universe is an ancient concept. This is referred to in the Śrīvaramaṅgalam grant.

yasmād āvirbhavati paramāścaryabhūtād yugādan.
yasminneva praviśati punar viśvametad yugānte [38]

The same idea occurs earlier in Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa*[39] and still earlier in the *Upaniṣads.*

In another verse the Supreme Being is referred to as beyond the reach or power of perception, inference etc. and is realised only through proper knowledge got through the study of Vedānta. Thus this description runs in the Dalavāyipuram grant.

pratyakṣānumiti samatva bodhakḷpto
jñānaviṣayabhūta rūpatattvam /
vedāntāvagatam anādi madhyahāṁ
jyotirvvo haratu harir amaṅgalāni // [40]

Garuḍa,[41] the vehicle of Viṣṇu is considered as the form of the Vedas. This must be symbolical as God resides in the Vedas.

chandomaya tanu vayo vāhanam daityaghāti //

These inscriptions also describe and praise Śiva. A verse in the Velvikkuḍi grant describes the yogic posture of Lord Siva.

nispandamārutam acañcala - sūryasanam
viṣṭabdhatārakam akampita sindhunātham
antarmukākṣa gaṇam ātmąniśāmanārtham
yogāsanam bhavatu vaḥ śivadāyi śaivam[42]

Literary embellishments as alliteration are also used in these inscriptions.

śriyañciram vaś śiśirāṁśuśekharai
śivah śṛitārti pratibandha kāraṇam[43]

The following verse is an example of *yamaka.* This is from Dalavāyipuram grant.

śucitayā cotayā dhana-sampadārahitayā
hitayā tamasā dhiyā /
samatayā matayā mahitām mahimakṛta
yo akṛṭa yoṣidatispṛhaḥ [44] //

The verse describing (śrī) Māra or Rājasiṁha's appearance while fighting in the battlefield with the Pallavas shows the poet's skill in bringing out the doubt lurking in the minds of the enemies.

naro nu rakṣo nu haro nu pūruṣaḥ
paro nu śakro nu sarvssamāgataḥ /
iti sma matvā yudhi yam bhayārdditaḥ
palāyata pallava malla bhūpatiḥ // [45]

Kālidāsā in the *Abhijñāna Śākuntalam* expresses the mental confusion of king Duṣyanta in a similar verse.

svapno nu māyā nu etc.[46]

Such beauty, imaginative power and skilful use of Sanskrit language have placed these inscriptions on par with *kāvyas.*

Among the inscriptional authors of Cola period, Anantanārāyaṇa, a brahmin from Koṭṭaiyūr and belonging to the Vasiṣṭhagotra can be referred to here. He composed the Sanskrit *praśasti* part of the larger Leyden Plates of Rājarāja I (985-1016 A.D.) and Rājendra I (1012-44 A.D).[47]

Ghaṭikas (corporate colleges) were supported and gifts given by the rulers of Tamil Nadu. Of these we know from an inscription that the *Ghaṭikai* at Nāgai had ample provision for Vedic studies, *śastra*, including a Librarian.[48] At Enunayiram, Rajendra Cola I made gifts for a large college. Thus the studies of vedas, *śastras* and musical lore were encouraged by the Cola rulers, which we come to know through their grants.[49]

The building of three temples (*Vimānatraya*) now called Mūvarkovil and gift of a Maṭh and eleven villages for the maintenance of a monastery are given in the *Koḍumbalūr* inscription. The gift of the Maṭh was by Bhūti Vikrama-kesari (950-970 A.D).[50] The Maṭh was presented to the Kālāmukha ascetic Mallikārjuna.[51] Vidyārāśi was the spiritual guru of this above-mentioned ascetic. In an inscription from Tagaḍūr, Dharmapuri there is a representation of Vidyārāśi worshipping a *liṅga*.[52]

The following eulogy on this King is noteworthy for style:

vidvatkalpatarau kṣitiśvara karadvandvāmbujendau
bhuvam yasmin śāsati medinī jayaramā-śrī-kirti vāg vallabhe!
taikṣṇyam netrayuge bhruvoś calaṇatā keśeṣu kārṣṇya(nta) nau
tanvīnām tanutāmabhavat stanayuge cānyonya saṁpīḍanam //.

Notes and References

1. Thirty Pallava Copper Plates, pp. 56 ff. Ed. by T.N.Subramanyan, The Tamil Varalatru Kazhagam. (The Tamil History Academy). 22, Greenways Road, Chennai 28.
2. Ibid. p.49 .
3. Ibid. p.3l.
4. Ibid. p.l40.
5. Ibid. p.226.
6. Ibid. p.227 ff.
7. Ibid. p.26l ff.
8. Ibid. pp.263 ff.
9. Ibid. p.274-75.
10. Ibid. p.275.
11. The *Mahābhārata*, Vana Parva 218.
12. Kaśakkuḍi grant *v.l4.*
13. *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa III.X.ll3.4. ASS.*37.p.l35
14. *Bhatata iva sarvadamanaḥ:* Udayendiram grant l5. Cf. Abhijñaña *sākuntala* p.247. 'Sarvadamana Sakuntalāvaṇyam paśya'. N.S.Press, Bombay.
15. Kaśākkudi grant (PCP.) l04. p.l0
16. Satyam anantam anādi jñānātmakanekam ekam amṛtapadam. Pallava CP.grant p.l55. L.l.
17. Kaśākkudi grant (PCP.) p.l55 l.2
17a. Ibid. l.3
18. Ibid.v3.
19. Viṣṇoḥ svasā. v.6.
20. *bhagavatīm alakṣmīm . . . . .*
kṣiṇutāt kṣaṇena verse 6.

21. PCP. p.l08 f
22. Verse 9.
23. line 40.
24. *droṇo' bhavadruhiṇa eva tataḥ kurūṇām droṇābhidhāna* etc. verse 15. *Paśokayanānamataḥ kṣitiśāt samyati sanmukhinām yaśo kalaṅkam dadadindu bhāsopi aśokavarmā tata āvirāsīt* V.l9 (Second half of verse corrected here)
25. lines 73 to 76.
26. line 47.
27. lines 37-38.
28. Subrahmaṇya born in a lotus
29. lines 43-44.
30. Kangle, *Arthaśāstra* Part I. p. *svāmyamātya janapada durga kośa daṇḍa mitrāṇi prakṛtayaḥ* VI. i. I. Ptd. II. p.364 cf. *Manusmṛti* IX. 294-95.
31. Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* III. VIII. i. xi. 43.
32. Ibid. IV. vi. 7-8. *Manusmṛti* VIII. 40l.
33. See Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*. II. vi.
34. Kangle, *op.cit.* Pt. II. pp. 37l-73; VII. i. l-2. 6-l2. cf. *Manusmṛti* VII. l60.
35. *Ten Pāṇḍya Copper Plates* p.56. The Tamil Varalatru Kazhagam. 40, Peters Road, Madras-l4, l967.
36. Ibid. p.95.
37. Canto II. verse 9.
38. *Ten Pāṇḍya Copper Plates* p.56.
39. Canto X. Verse l6.
40. *Ten Pāṇḍya Copper Plates* p.95.
41. See Charpentier, *Die Suparṇasāgē* (uppsa!a, !920) p.208.
    sauvarṇaparṇam amitadyutim aprameyam /
    chandomayam vividha yajñatanum vareṇyam //
42. *Ten Pāṇḍya Copper Plates* p.95. cf. Kumārasambhava III. verse 42.

43. Ibid p.19.
44. Ibid. p.96.
45. Ibid. p.21.
46. Act. VI. verse 10.
47. See. *Epi. Ind.* XXII. 222. 242-57.
48. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Hist. of S.I.* pp.322-23.
49. Ibid. p.323.
50. *JOR.* Madras VII. 1933. pp.1-10.
51. *Vidyāraśes* taporāśeśśiṣyo [śrī] bhūn *mallikārjunaḥ.*
52. *Epi. Ind.* X. p.64 and. n.57; also IOR, Chennai VII. p.9.

CHAPTER XIV

STOTRA LITERATURE

Much activity was prevalent for the spread of Bhakti movement in Tamil Nadu. As early as 7th cent. the saint singers, the Nāyanmārs and Āḻvārs added to a large extent to the spread of the cult of Devotion.

There were several Sanskrit scholars who wrote not only *stotras*, but also treatises on the need for reciting God's name, the characteristics of a devotee and so on. Some of the prominent figures in this field were Mūkakavi, who wrote the *Mūkapañcaśati*,[1] *Saṅkarācārya* and *Vedānta Deśika*, who wrote several *stotras*. Many of these *stotra* collections have been brought out.

Some noteworthy features of these *stotras* are that they embody, the *Mantraśāstra*[2] like the *Mahāsodaśīvanaratnāvalīstotra* or the *Rudrārthasārastava* of Aruṇagiri, based on the *Rudrapraśna*.

Mūkakavi in his *Mūkapañcaśati* (5 sections each containing 100 verses) has beautifully described Kāmākṣī: The sections are called *Āryāśataka*, *Pādāravindaśataka*, *Stutiśataka*, *Kaṭākṣaśataka*, and *Mandasmitaśataka*. The verses are full of literary beauty and pregnant with meaning. He is said to have lived during the 5th century, a born dumb boy who got his power of speech by the blessings of Goddess Kāmākṣī.

Another important figure in the field of Vaiṣṇavism is Rāmānuja, who wrote *Gadyatraya*: *Śaraṇāgatigadya*, *Śrīraṅgagadya* and *Vaikuṇṭhagadya*.

Vedānta Deśika's contribution to the field of Sanskrit, Tamil and Maṇipravāla, and to the field of *Stotras*, is of great value. He established Vaiṣṇavism more firmly and the religious and philosophical sides of Viśiṣṭādvaita were fully developed through his treatises and debates. The Bhakti movement also had an uplift through the *stotras*[3] composed by Deśika. He has sung in praise of several deities as also a few other *stotras* having philosophical concepts like *nyāsa* etc. One special feature of his *stotras* is that they are also full of literary embellishments. Even the compassion of Lord Veṅkaṭeśa is praised in

one hundred verses in *Dāyāśataka*. The weapons of God are eulogised in *Ṣoḍaśāyudha stotra*. *Sudarśanāṣṭaka* is said to be full.of spiritual power. This method of personifying the weapons of God and praising them came into vogue during this period as also the following periods. *Pādukāsahasra* of Deśika is said to have been composed in one night. This *stotra* contains verses in the end which are in differnt *bandhas* or poetical figures known as *Citrabandhas*. *Garuḍadaṇḍaka*[4],a lyric in praise of Lord Garuḍa, when recited, is said to cure disease. In this Daṇḍaka, each quarter contains 36 gaṇas.

Gopālaviṁśati [5]is a beautiful *stotra* on Lord Kṛṣṇa. This is also full of literary beauty. For example the following verse describes the beautiful dance of Kṛṣṇa.

āvirbhavatavanibhṛt ābharaṇam purastāt
ākuñcitaikacaraṇam nibhṛtānyapādam /
dadhnā nimantha mukhareṇa nibaddha tālam
nāthasya nandabhavane navanīta nāṭyam // 4 //

Godāstuti in 29 verses, is in praise of Goddess Āṇḍāḷ or Godā, an incarnation of Nīlādevi. In the following verse, we find the names of six rivers, Śoṇā, Sarasvatī, Virajā, Narmadā, Tuṅgabhadrā and Godāvarī skilfully used while describing Godā.[6]

śoṇādhare'api kucayorapi tuṅgabhadrā
vācām pravāha nivahe'pi sarasvatī tvam
aprākṛtairapi rasair virajā svabhāvāt
Godāpi devi kamitur nanu narmadā'si.

A few other Vaiṣṇavite scholars who contributed to the field of *stotra* can be referred to here. Kūreśa (l0l0-lll6 A.D) or Śrīvatsāṅka Miśra wrote five devotional lyrics, *Atimānuṣastava*, *Varadarājastava*, *Vaikuṇṭhastava*, *Śrīstava* and *Sundarabāhustava*.[7]

(Mahā-kavi) Śeṣaśāyī of unknown date composed *stotras* on deities at Kumbhakonam. From this we can infer that probably he was a resident of that city. In his *Komalāmbāstava*[8], he praises Goddess Komalavallī. These verses are arranged in Sanskrit alphabetical order. His poetic skill is of a high order. The following verse reveals his ability in using the *Śabdālaṅkaras*.

ēṇāvilocanamīḍe ēṇāṅka kalāvatamsanuta padam /
ekaguṇakam svapatyā jita viśvena sarvajñakena //

His *Śārṅgadhanvā* or *Śarṅgadharastuti* [9]is in l0 verses and is in praise of Lord Śārṅgapāṇi.

aksiṇi vilāsam anghrau sarasija śobham natam maho ghoṇe
draḍhimānam bāhuyugalau kalyāṇam dadātu me tejaḥ

In another stotra on Goddess Sarasvatī,[10] a work with 20 verses he has praised Sarasvati thus: 20 verses.

karuṇāpūra taraṅgitam aruṇādharaśoṇitamātta sarvasvam /
taruṇāruṇāṁśu rājita sarasijanayanam dadātu me bhāvukam /

Parāśara Bhaṭṭa,a well-known Viśiṣṭādvaita scholar wrote Śrī *Raṅgarājastava* in 232 verses and *Śri Guṇaratna Kośa* on Goddess Lakṣmī.

Veṅkaṭādhvarin, the well known author of *Viśvaguṇādarśacampū*, wrote a few *stotras*. A *stotra*, *Lakṣmīsahasra*,[11] is divided into following *stabakas: Ārambhastabaka, Prādurbhāva, Vakṣasthalāvasthāna, Kāruṇya, Kaṭākṣa, Prayatna, Kṣānti, Utsava, Audārya, Yamaka, Nakṣātramālā, Vicitra, Nāmavaibhava, Sadmavaibhava, Abhīti, Parisankhyā, Daśāvatāra, Citra, Saṅkīrṇa, Nirveda* and *Phala*. Every *stabaka* begins with an *anuṣṭubh* verse in praise of the Goddess.

The author addresses the Goddess thus:

kavinām pratnānām kavalita sudhāsvādima madair
anūcānaiḥ stotraiḥ śrutijaḍima bhājo janani te
ajāmitvāyaiva stavam imam ākūpāratanaye
viyātā grathnīmo vihasana padair kairapi padaihi

(I.12)

A few other verses from the other *stabakas* are given below for their literary beauty as well as the contents.

pāpāraṇya hiraṇyadānava vapur vyāpāṭane prajvalat
kopāṭopa kṛpīṭha sambhava nava jvālākarālānanām
devādyair api duṣkara prasadanam devam nṛsimham rame
kṣāntim nītavatī kṣaṇena bhavatī kim te aparam duṣkaram

(*Kṣānti* 19)

In this verse the poet says what is difficult for Goddess Lakṣmī who pacified the ferocious Narasiṁha. The style using harsh syllables as well as long compounds brings to us the ferocious form of Lord Viṣnu as Narasiṁha.

In another verse (Utsava stabaka v. 8) the author says that service to Her brings about a high status even to the one who is limping in his activities.

mahajuṣastava devi siṣeviṣā diśati mandagater api sadgatim /
tadiha divyagatim vitariṣyasi tvam amale mama lekha durāsadām//

In the section on Audārya a verse describes the greatness of Lakṣmī using the *Virodhābhāsa* figure of speech.

kalpadrumaḥ (ku) sumita eva ghano (a)pradātā
karṇo'api apārtha karṇaḥ sa baliḥ kudātā
nāthas tavāpi kamale! sa hiraṇyahārī
nāto'asti te vitaraṇe prativastu kiñcit /

(*Audārya* 12)

In this verse the poet says that the wish-yielding tree gives only limited things as also the cloud the giver of water.

1) *ap pradāta* - non giver as well as water giver.
2) Karṇa as a useless one in giving charity. Here the sense is to be taken as Karṇa without Pārtha.
3) Bali is said to be a *kudāta*; a bad one in giving charity; but it is not so- he is the giver of the earth (ku).
4) *Nāthas te hiraṇyahāri* - ie. Your husband is the stealer of gold (Viṣṇu as Narasimha destroyed Hiraṇya).

So using the apparent contradiction Veṅkaṭādhvarin describes the greatness of Goddess Lakṣmī.

The *antya yamaka* is used in this verse in the section *Yamakastabaka.*

padme astu tubhyam prathamā namasyā sthiram phalam
hi prathamānamasyāḥ/
vdhāya mānyāmahatām aham tām harāmyariṇam
mahatāmahantām /
XIV. 20.

In praise of Vēdāntadeśika, he wrote *Ācāryapañcāśata*[12]

ātreyasyạ sutaḥ sa tasya sumater āmnāyacūḍāgurum /
padyair astuta veṅkaṭādhvari kavih pañcaśata mañjubhiḥ //

The following verses from the *Ācāryapañcāśata* apart from glorifying preceptor Vedānta Deśika, proves the poetic abilities of Veṅkaṭādhvarin.

niṣayā vidyānam nikila kumati vyāla garuḍaḥ
sabhā saubhāgyānām sarasakavitāpadasamanvitā
pramāṇam bhāṣyasya prapadana kalā janmajaladhiḥ
karotu kṣemam naḥ kavi kathaka kaṇṭhīrava guruḥ

(verse 9)

śrīmān vedaśiroguruḥ pradiśatu śreyāmsibhūyamsi me
yasya śrīpatibhaktinartanakalāraṅgais taraṅgair girām
vādāyodhana vīra-vāraṇaghaṭāsaṁhāra siṁhāravaiḥ
astā nityagirām jvarā bhavasarit vistāra nistārakaiḥ

(verse 17)

paramata durahanta prāpta śastrātihanta
vikasitaguṇabhūmā vedacūḍāryanāmā /
viharatu hṛdi kaścid viśvamānyo vipaścid
viditasakalamantraḥ sarvatantra svatantraḥ

(verse 25)

dharaṇīramaṇe bhikṣākī vā dhaneṣu tṛṇeṣu vā /
nijaguṇa nutau nindāyam vā abaleṣu śilāsu vā /
samadṛśam imam sattvodreka prasanna dhiyām
hari prapadanaghana trayyantāryam bhaje mama daivatam

(verse 43)

These verses clearly show the devotion of Veṅkaṭādhvarin to Deśika and his skilful use of the Sanskrit language. The description of Deśika as *kumati vyālagaruḍaḥ* and *pramāṇam bhāśyāṇām* shows his power to put down the atheists and he as an authority on the *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya*. The second verse is beautiful in style in that he has used expressions like *śrīpati bhakti nartanakāla raṅgair* etc., and the *vādayodhana*. That Deśika's speech was like waves dancing on the stage and that his eloquence and forcible oratory power put down the opponents like the lion's roar, the herd of elephants.

The third verse has full of alliteration in the beginning and middle of each *pāda*.

The last verse reminds one of the *Bhagavat Gītā* verse:

śuni caiva śvapāke ca paṇḍitāḥ samadarśinaḥ

as also Bhartṛhari's verse:

nindantu nīti nipuṇāḥ etc.

A few other *stotras* on Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī brought to light recently are the following:

Rāmacandra Yati (A.D.1623-71) wrote the *Kṛṣṇacāritra mañjari*[13] and the *Rāmacāritramañjari*[14] which epitomize the *Bhāgavata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa.*

(Aśoka) Raghunāthācārya was the author of *Kodaṇḍapāṇistotra* [15] and *Gopālaśataka.*[16]

Turagaśataka or *Dhāṭīśataka* on Lord Raṅganātha probably mounting the horse is a beautiful *stotra* in Kāvya style. This *stotra* is by Vāñceśvara I or Kuṭṭikavi.[17]

Another interesting *stotra* is *Indirāśataka*[18] by Kṛṣṇa kavi on Goddess Lakṣmī. The labial letters (o, au, pa, pha, ba, bha, ma and va) are not used and hence it is called *Niroṣṭhyam.*

(Uṭake) Govindācārya composed two *stotras Bhagavadvicāralalitāryāḥ*[19] and *Viraktimuktāvalī.*[20] The second *stotra* was composed in 1862 A.D when the author was residing at Tanjore.[21]

Veṅkaṭeśa, son of Prativādibhayaṅkarārya Varayogin of Śrīvatsagotra was a prolific writer in the field of *stotras.* He belonged probably to the 18th cent. A.D.[22] His *Śārīrikapradīpikā*[23] is an eulogy on Viṣṇu Bhūvarāha at Śrīmuṣṇam. The author has explained the various *adhikaraṇas* of *Brahmasūtras* in this *stotra. Bhagavadārādhanakramakārikā* [24] by him is a *stotra* on worship of Maṇavālamāmuni. In *Vedāntadeśikaśataka*[25] he refers that this *stotra* was written in the year Śubhakṛt. Several other *stotras* of his are found in the Government Oriental Library Manuscripts Collection.[26] He uses various devices like *nakṣatramālā,*[27] *sambodhana,*[28] *citraprabandha,*[29] *vatsarāvalī* [30]and metres like *bhujaṅgaprayāta.*[31]

A few other *stotras* which deserve mention here are *Ambujavallīśataka*[32] by Śrīmuṣṇam Vīravalli Varadadeśika and *Ambujavallidaṇḍaka*[33] of Śrīnivāsakavi of unknown date.

On Goddess Godā several *stotras* were written. *Godāprapatti* [34] whose author is not known, *Godāmaṅgalāśāsanā,*[35] *Godāmajjana* or *Cāpamajjanavaibhava*[36] and *Godāstuti* are a few *stotras* on Āṇḍāḷ. A *Daṇḍaka*[37] was written on Lakṣmī by Veṅkaṭasudhī of Kandāla family and a *Śrīstava*[38] by Raṅgadāsa.

Stotras were composed on the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu of which mention may be made of *Daśāvatārastotra*[39] of Deśika and *Daśāvatāramañjarī* [40] of

Śeṣādrisūri, son of Veṅkateśvara sūri of Ātreyagotra and disciple of Rāmādhvarin. This *stotra* was composed in 1760 A.D at the instance of King Bhīmarāya. The author wrote the commentary *Parimala* on it.

Śaṅkarācārya of unknown date composed *Rāghavāṣṭaka* on the model of *Gopikāgīta*.[41]

madana koṭi saundarya mohanam
caraṇabhakti bhākkāmadohanam /
hṛdaya paṅkaje adhyātma hṛtpadam
bhaja manaḥ sadā rāmam adbhutam //

Another interesting *stotra* is *Nakṣatranāmāvali* in 27 verses, each verse containing one of the names of Kṛṣṇa, and the verses are to be sung in Rāga Kāmboji. The author appears to be Svayamprakāśayati.

jaya nārāyaṇa mādhava danujavaṁśāraṇya dāvānala
kāmbodirāga keśava munijanageya namo namo kṛṣṇa pāhi
bhavapāśa-mocana bhaktajanāvana kṛṣṇa pāhi

Besides these, *stotras* on Varadarāja of Kāñci, Dehalīśa of Tirukkoyilūr, and other deities were also composed.[42]

Among the female deities prominence is given to Goddess Lakṣmī by Vaiṣṇavites since she also holds an important position and status as God Viṣṇu. This Śrī was praised by Deśika in his *Śrīṣtuti*,[43] containing the important features of Vaiṣṇavism; prior to Deśika, Yāmuna composed *Catuḥśloki*.[44] *Śrītattva* of Viśiṣṭādvaitins is expounded for the first time in this *stotra*.

Nandikeśvara appears to be an eponymous author, to whom is ascribed *Śiva (karpūra)*[45] *stava* said to be from *Śivapurāṇa*.

Jñānaśiva of Golakhimaṭha was the author of *Śivapūjāstava*.[46] He was the fifth descendent from Trilocana Śivācārya, who wrote *Siddhāntasārāvali*. His successor was Pañcākṣaraguru. He belonged to the 14th cent. A.D. This stava is in 47 verses and has been commented by Trilocanaśambhu (author of *Siddhāntasārāvali*) and also by Śivāgrayogi and Śivajñānasvāmin.[47]

Nāmāvalistotra on Ekāmreśvara of Kāñci is by Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita. This was read at a meeting in an assembly held at the Ekāmreśvara Temple in Śaka 1453.[48]

Umāpati Śivācārya was one of the important figures in the field of Śaivism who wrote *Kuñcitāṅghristava*, a commentary on *Pauṣkarāgama* and several other

Tamil works bearing on Saivite religion. He lived in Koṟṟavankuṭi or Pārthavana near Cidambaram during the 13th cent. A.D. *Kuñcitāṅghristava*[49] by Umāpati is important in several aspects as many mythological episodes,[50] beautiful description of Śiva,[51] reference to Tirumūlar[52] and other interesting details are found. This *stotra* in 314 verses contains full of details on *mantra śāstra*, greatness of Śiva and also of Cidambaram. The slightly bent feet (*kuñcitāṅghri*) of Lord Naṭarāja is praised invoking his grace.

Appayya Dīkṣita was another great scholar who wrote several *stotras*. His association with various places added to several *stotras* on Gods and Goddesses: *Apītakucāmbāstava*[53] or *Jvaraharāṣṭaka*, *Ātmārpaṇastuti*, and others. A few verses from his stotras are given below.

āvirbhava kṣaṇam apītakuce purastāt
amba jvareṇa mahatā mama tapītasya
yena tvadaṅghri rucijāla sudhāpravāhe
magnas tadaiva tanu tāpam amum tyajeyam

Hari Hara abheda stuti is also by him. This is a *stotra* praising both Viṣṇu and Śiva. This is on the reclining Govindarāja and dancing Naṭarāja at Cidambaram.

kṛṣṇa tanum umārdha tanum
śvaśura gṛhastham sumeruśṛṅgastham
daśavapuṣam vasu vapuṣam
vande bhūjānim acala bhū jānim V.3.

nidrātu vā nṛtyatu vā adhiraṅgam
garutmatā yātu kakudmatā vā
na vastu bhedapratipattirastime
tathāpi bhaktis taruṇenduśekhare // V.9.

Here incidentally we can note this fact. Those adhering to the Nāma Siddhānta system, should not make any distinction between Siva and Viṣṇu. With this view *stotras* were written. *Hariharabhedadhikkāra* [54]is by Bodhendra himself and also *Hariharādvaitabhūṣaṇa kārikā*.[55]

Hariharatāratamyaśataka [56]ascribed to Haradattācārya, is by Rāmeśvara Makhin. The verses like Appayya Dīksita's *stotra* referred to above is full of literary beauty. For example:

ekaḥ samudrasalile vaṭapatraśāyī
tvanyaḥ samudraśaradhis tripuraprabhede
ko vā anayoradhikaḥ ityanucintya vṛddhāḥ
satyam vadantu tam imam vayam āśrayāmaḥ // V.2.

The last two lines form the refrain.

eko bhujangaśayanaḥ svapatīha nityam
anyo bhujaṅga kaṭakaḥ khalu nṛtyatīha V.3.

Śivapādakamalareṇusahasra[57] is said to be the work of Haradatta. This was written as a wager to *Pādukāsahasra* of Vedānta Deśika which is in adoration of the sandals of the feet of Raṅganātha. Haradatta's work contains the following 19 *Paddhatis - Prastāvanā, Prasādana, Rūpa, Śṛṅgāra, Kusuma, Praṇāma, Stuti, Bhakti, Sañcāra, Niyama, Arcana, Nakṣatra, Viḍambana, Śastra, Viśramaṇa, Dayā, Lakṣmī, Śiva* and *Citra*. Regarding the authorship there is doubt as Haradatta, the Śaivite, who commented on *Kalpasūtras* may not be the same as this Haradatta as their dates differ.

Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita was another great scion of Appayya Dīkṣita's family. His contribution to various branches of Sanskrit Literature is well-known. He too was a staunch devotee of Lord Śiva and Goddess Mīnākṣī. *Ānandasāgarastava*[58] of his, in 108 verses is a bhakti-cum-kāvya *stotra*. The one who goes through it, if he is a real *Sahṛdaya*, will be touched by the rich lyrical beauty and fine imageries of the *stotra* which finally shows the way to *Bhakti*. For example a few verses are given here.

ākranditam āhatam ānane vā kasyārdramastu cittam
kimataḥ phalam vā/
yasyā mano dravati yā jagatām svatantrā tasyās tavāmba
puratah kathayāmi khedam // V.3.

' I wailed and cried and beat my head
whose heart will melt and what fruit can be had
The one whose mind melts and who is free to act
To that Goddess, I tell my sorrow '

Herein the appeal to the Goddess is done in a lucid style as if the devotee is speaking to the Goddess.

In another verse he pleads to the Goddess to remove all the sins that had started bearing fruits. He adds an example that the poison that has got into the body is shifted to another place or totally destroyed. (v.40).

The following verse shows his imaginative power.

syāt komalam yadi mano mama viśvamātus
tat pādayor mṛdalayos tava pādukē'stu /
syād karkaśam yadi karagrahaṇe purārēr
aśmādhirohaṇa vidhau bhavatūpayogaḥ (v.57)

He feels that if his mind is soft as the flowers, then let it be the pair of sandals for your soft feet. If it is as hard as a stone, then he says that this stone can be made use of for placing her foot on it during her marriage rituals. Such was the beauty of his imagination.

Another *stotra* of his is *Rāmāyaṇasārasaṅgraha Raghuvīra stava*[59] in 33 verses. The 13th verse in this *stava* speaks of Hanumān as *aṁśa* of Śiva and Rāma correctly chose him for searching Sītā.

prasthāpitā mṛgayitum ravijena sītām
dūtāḥ samam raghukulodvaha yadyapīme /
bhāras tathāpi nihito bhavatā āñjaneye
kastām parāṃ cittam avaitu paraḥ sivāṁśāt //

Yajñavedeśvara (17th cent.), son of Bālacandrārya, who belonged to the family of Ratnakheṭa Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita of Viśvāmitragotra wrote *Gaṇeśāṣṭottaraśata* (*Gaṇeśaśataka*)[60] in 113 verses.

Sadāśiva Brahmendra, the great Advaitin and Avadhūta, who lived during the 18th cent. was the author of the *stotras*, *Dakṣiṇāmūrtidhyāṇa*,[61] *Navavarṇaratnamālā*,[62] *Rāmakṛṣṇendrāṣṭaka*,[63] *Śivamānasikapūjā*[64] and *Śivastotra*.[65]

Śrīdhara Veṅkaṭeśa more popularly known as Ayyāvāḷ[66] contributed not only to *stotra* literature, but his fillip to the *bhajanasampradāya* was immense. He belonged to a Telugu brahmin family settled at Tiruviśanallūr or Sāhajirājapuram. He was patronised by King Śāhaji of Tanjore (1684-1710 A.D.). He is one among the donees of the above mentioned village. He wrote several *stotras* on Śiva and also minor poems on Śaivism. Of these special mention may be made of *Ākhyāṣaṣṭi*,[67] *Śivabhaktakalpatikā*, and *Śivabhaktalakṣaṇa*.

Another noteworthy contribution of his is *Bhagavan Nāmabhūṣaṇa* on *Nāmasiddhānta*. *Nāmasiddhānta* or devotion to Lord's Name was made popular by Bodhendra, the pioneer of the Bhajana Sampradāya along with Ayyāvāḷ. Bodhendra wrote three works in this field: *Nāmāmṛtarasāyana*,[68] (*Bhagavan*) *Nāmāmṛtarasodaya* [69] and *Nāmāmṛtaśūryodaya*.[70] Another work probably written

by him in this field is *Bhagavannāmāmṛtārṇava.*[71] Ayyāvāḷ wrote *Bhagavannāmabhūṣaṇa*[72] which is lost and is known only through references.

Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita, about whom reference has been made, was also a donee of Sāhajirājapuram. He belonged to Kaṇḍaramāṇikkam village. As he was a staunch devotee of Rāma, he composed the following *stotras* on Rāma:

1. *Rāmakarṇa rasāyanastava*
2. *Varṇamālāstava*
3. *Rāmaprasādastava*
4. *Rāmāṣṭaprāsastava*
5. *Viśvagarbhastava*
6. *Rāmacitrastava* (with yamaka)
7. *Rāmabāṇastava* and
8. *Ācāryastavarājabhūṣaṇa*,[73] in honour of the Ācāryastavarāja of Brahmānanda on his prceptor Kṛṣṇānanda,

His *stotras* excel in poetic skill and literary embellishments and selections from which are given below.

vedāntavibhramavana vihitapracāraḥ
kākutsthavaṁśam avatīrya kadāpi khelan
vālmīki vāṅnikara vāgurayā gṛhīto
hṛt-pañjaram vrajati kaścidayam śuko me //

Rāmakarṇarasāyana Niṣyanda II. v.74.

[This parrot, (Rāma), moving about freely in the garden of Upaniṣads, playing in the family of the Kakutsthas, and caught hold of by the net of the words of sage Vālmīki, is taking resort in the cage of my heart.[74]]

vadane śabarīphalābhilāṣam vacane satya dhurā virājamānam/
nayanepyanavalokita anyadāram caraṇe jīvalam āśraye nṛpālam.[75]

Rāmacāpastava, v.ll

In another verse the author says he is more interested in the loud noise of the drum resembling the wailing of the enemies than the tumultous noise produced during *Kāliyamardana* ;

anye keligṛhīta kāliya phaṇā raṅgasthalīnartana
krīḍā mardalavādya hṛdya yamunā kallola kolāhale
deve prema vahantvaham tu kutukī kākutstha hastadvayī
raṅgotsaṅganaṭe dhanuṣyaribhaṭākrandorubherī rave //

Upaniṣadbrahmendra, an elder contemporary of Tyāgarāja was a prominent advaitin, a devotee of Rāma and a musician. His contribution to these fields are rich. He lived in Kāñci and built a maṭh which bears his name. He lived during the 18th century.[76] He wrote *Upeyanāmaviveka* or *Nāmārthavivaraṇa*, *Divyanāmasaṅkīrtana* on the cult of *Nāmasiddhānta* and Bhakti.

Kṛṣṇānanda Sarasvati or Bālakṛṣṇa Bhagavatpāda [77] of Cola country was the son of Viśvanātha and Ambāryā. He too flourished during the last quarter of the 17th and beginning of 18th cent A.D. He was the pupil of Sannyasin Ramabhadrānanda, Vāsudevayati and Saccidānanda yogīndra and was an elder contemporary of Śāhaji of Tanjore. He had several disciples including the famous Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita.[78]

The following *stotras* are by him:

1. *Mantramuktāvali* is in 47 verses; contains the *bījākṣaras* of *Medhā Dakṣinā mūrtimantra* as the first syllable of the *stotra*.

   mandākṣa mantharadṛsā śivayā śītam kuru
   mandākini pṛṣata mañju jaṭā kalāpam /
   cinmudrikākṣa guṇa pustaka kuṇḍikādhyām
   śrī dakṣiṇābhimukham ādigurum bhajemaḥ //

2. *Mṛtyuñjayāṣṭaka:* praises Kālakāla in ten beautiful verses.

3. *Mīnākṣyaṣṭaka* abounds in *Śabdālaṅkāras.*

   pāṇau vīṇām ādadhati kīrakiśoradhvānā
   dhmātaḥ svāñcita tantrī tanu bhedam
   lāvaṇyābdhir lakṣita-kāruṇyākatākṣā
   śyāmā kāmam mīnadṛg ambā paripātu.

4. *Manassambodh*ana is in 31 verses and advises the mind to reflect on its activities past, present and future and to stop building castles in the air.

5. *Bhaktivivardhanastotra* is an invocation to Śiva in 61 verses.

   abhivanditum aindavīm kalām aham īhe bhavatā avatamsitam /
   ayi nātha bhavārkatāpitam hṛdayam śītalayiṣyate tayā //

[I wish to salute the crescent moon adorning your head; O Lord! so that I can cool down my heart afflicted by the Sun of this transcient life.]

Vāñceśvara I or Kuṭṭikavi wrote *Mahiṣaśataka*, *Turagaśataka*, *Dhāṭīśataka* and *Āśiśśataka*.

Another scholar who lived recently was Paiṅgānāḍu Gaṇapati Śāstri (1817-1913). He also wrote several *stotras Gururājasaptati*, *Mahāmāryaṣṭaka* etc.

A few other *stotras* from the *stotra* collections printed recently are referred to here but the dates of their authors are not traceable and need further verification.

Gaṅgādhara Makhin wrote *Ambikā Triśati* [79] on Devī, Lakṣmī and Pārvatī. These verses are in Ārya metre. There is the influence of earlier *stotras* like the *Āryādviśatī* of Dūrvāsas and *Āryāśataka* of Mūka.[80] For example the following verse:

kuṭila kacam likuca kucam
mṛdu bāhulatam ca kumkumacchāyā
vilasati śaśadharamauḷeḥ
sarvasvam sukṛtaparipākaḥ // v. 249

Parameśvara Yogin or Yogīndra or Kavi Rājayogin, whose nativity is not known, wrote the following works besides a *stotra* on Śiva. They mainly deal with yoga, bhakti and vedānta.[81]

Kṣamāstotra[82] is in 53 verses in praise of Śiva.

Nijatattvāmṛtarasa[83] on *yoga* is in 105 verses. Another work is *Yogarahasya*[84] in 105 verses. *Śṛṣṭitattvāmṛtarasa* [85] is also on the same subject and another belonging to the same class is *Siddhasiddhāñjanapaddhati.*[86]

Gokarṇeśvaramānasikārādhana[87] is available only in part. There are about 28 verses in different metres. This *stotra* is in praise of Gokarṇeśvara, the God at Tiru Gokarṇa in Puddukkottai state. In the following verse there is reference to the worship of the Lord with the Pañcākṣara mantra.

pañcākṣareṇamanunā pañcamahāpāpa bhañjana prabhuṇā /
pañca parārghyair bilvair dakṣiṇa gokarṇa nāyakam arcayāmi //

Mahāgaṇapatistotrapañcaka[88], was probably composed by a resident of Tiruvannamalai, since there is a reference to Aruṇācala (Tiruvaṇṇāmalai) in the refrain.

gajavaravadanam śoṇaśailendrasūnum

This *stotra* gives descriptions of the physical appearance of the God, his sportive nature, he writing the *Mahābhārata* as also the mythological story of getting the fruit from his father after circumambulating his parents.

kailāse kamanīyaratnakacite saimhe sthite viṣṭare
śambhum sarva carācarātmakajagatrūpam praṇatvā phalam /
cūtam tatkarasaṁsthitam rasayutam skandāgateḥ prāṅ mudā
carvantam parigṛhya kuñjaramukham vandāmahe śāṅkaram //

Rudrārthasārastava,[89] an epitome of *Śatarudrīya*, is by Aruṇagiri, probably of Mullandram family.

Goṣṭheśvarāṣṭaka,[90] is a *stotra* on Kōṭṭai Īśvaran at Coimbatore. This hymn refers to the Rajataśaila or Velliaṅgiri near Coimbatore, Triveṇī saṅgam near Bhavāṇī, and to Pippalāraṇya which is Perur are referred to in this *stotra*.[91]

Japyeśvara aṣṭaprāsāṣṭaka[92] or *Śivastotra* is by Veṅkaṭasubbākavi. This is on God Praṇatārtihara or Pañcāpakeśa of Tiruvaiyāru.

Rāmānuja Deśika, disciple of Rāmadeśika, composed a *daṇḍaka* on Lord Subrahmaṇya.[93]

Iti Rāmadeśika padāmbujayugma yoga sañjāta nirmala guṇottara
mānasena Rāmānujena śarasambhava daṇḍako'yam bhaktyā kṛto
navaśatair ragaṇaiḥ prasannaḥ //

Subrahmaṇyāṣṭaka or *Guhaśvāmi stotra*[94] is interesting as it refers to the six holy shrines of Lord Subramaṇya.

Subrahmaṇyabhujaṅga[95] is on Kukke Subrahmaṇya, deity in the Western Ghats. This is ascribed to Ādi Saṅkarācārya. According to the colophon it is by Śaṅkara Bhagavatapāda,[96] pupil of Abhinava Nārāyaṇendra Sarasvatī who is probably the same as Paramaśivendra Sarasvati, the preceptor of Sadāśiva Brahmendra.

The following verse refers to Lord Subrahmaṇya at Kukke

dviṣat paṅkajākṣam mahāśaktiyuktam trilokya (e) praśastam
sukkukkepurastham /
prapannārtināśam prasannam phaniśam parabrahmarūpam
prakāśam pareśam //

One Keśava Sūri wrote *Mahālakṣmīdaṇḍaka*.[97]

Pārvatīstotra[98] is on Sundarakucāmbikā at Tejinīvana or Tiru Vīḻimaḻalai Rāmacandrakavi, wrote *Devīnavaratnamālika*[99] which is full of alliteration. The following line found in a verse may refer to Pālar.

kṣīrāmburāśimaṇitīra amara dru kṛta.

Goddess Bṛhadambā is the presiding deity at Gokarṇa or Tirugokarṇam near Pudukkottai. The *stotra Bṛhadambāryāśataka*,[100] on this Goddess is probably by Raghunāthendra.[101] These verses which are in āryā metre appear similar to those of Mūkakavi.

ānandasārasīmām ānaṅgotkarṣa poṣakāpāṅgām /
ānantum bṛhadambām ānantyam mūrdhni vāñcāmi //

v. 13 // (p.75)

The following verse shows the author's skill in using the language:

dhanyāḥ ke nu madanyā valaye (a) avanyā yato bakulavanyāḥ /
mūle mokṣa vadānyā mañju kanyā girer hi mānyā me /

(v.18. p.75)

On *stotras* of Vaiṣṇavite scholars many commentaries were composed which are not dealt with here in detail. Suffice it to say that *Aṣṭaśloki* was commented upon by Saumyajāmātṛmuni,[102] son of Śrī Vatsa Varadācārya, a pupil of Kauśika Govindarāja. He lived probably during the llth cent A.D.

Prativādibhayaṅkaram Aṇṇan,[103] disciple of Vedānta Deśika (1300-1410 A.D) wrote a commentary on *Aṣṭaśloki*. Nārāyaṇa Muni or Śrī Vatsāṅka[104] (15th cent.) was another scholar who also wrote the commentary on *Aṣṭaśloki*.

Garga Veṅkaṭācārya (17th-18th cent.)[105] wrote a *Vyākhyā* on *Abhītistava* of Deśika. On *Pādukāsahasra* of Deśika, Nṛsiṁha or Nṛhari[106] of Hārītagotra wrote a commentary and another commentary *Parīkṣā* [107] on the same *stotra* was by Śrīnivāsa (Dāsa), son of Devarāja of Bhāradvājagotra.

Śrībhāṣyam Nārāyaṇācārya[108] of Śrīvatsagotra wrote a commentary on *Sriguṇaratnakośa* of Parāśara Bhaṭṭa.

On *Parāṅkuśastotra* or *Nakṣatramālikāstotra* of Abhirāmavara on Nammaḻvār, the following authors have written commentaries : Vīrarāghava[109] of Vādhūlagotra; Jagannātha,[110] son of Kṛṣṇācārya wrote the commentary *Saurabhī* and Gārgya Veṅkaṭācārya,[111] disciple of Ramya Jāmātṛmuni, the commentary *Prabhā*.

Rāmānujācarya[112] of Garga gotra, disciple of Veṅkaṭācārya was the author of a commentary on *Śrī Raṅgarājastava.*[113]

Another important figure in the field of commentorial literature is Veṅkaṭanivāsa (Ātreya) or Śrīnivāsa, son of Gopālācārya of Śrīvatsagotra. He composed commentaries on *Dayāśataka,*[114] on *Varadarājaśataka,*[115] *Vaikuṇṭhastava*[116] and *Śrīguṇaratnakośa.*[117]

Saiva and Devi Stotras

Aricchit,[118] son of Pravarasena, a Dramiḍa prince, is the author of a Commentary *Sudhāvidyotinī* on *Saundaryalaharī* of Śaṅkara, but ascribed it to King Pravarasena, the father of the commentator. Another commentary on the same *stotra* is by Acyutakṛṣna.[119]

Bhāskararāya or Bhāsurānandanātha, a famous Tantric scholar wrote a commentary on *Lalitāsahasranāma.*[123]

Appā Dīkṣita or Narasimhānandanātha was the son of Kuppā Dīkṣita. Probaby he was related to the famous Appayya Dīkṣita. He wrote *Lalitāsahasranāmārthaprakāśa,*[121] an abridgement of Bhāskararāya's commentary on *Lalitāsahasranāma.* He is the 6th descendent of Appaya Dīkṣita (?).[122]

Ardhanārīsvara Dīkṣita, wrote a commentary on *Ambāstava,*[124] ascribed to Kālidāsa.

Rāmakṛṣṇasūri commented on *Śivapādādikeśāntastuti.* [125] On *Śivasahasranāmastotra,*[126] Alaṅkāra Dīkṣita wrote a commentary. The author was patronised by Ciṭṭaya Rāmabhadra or Kalikāla Rāmacandra of Bhūtanātha family. Appayya Dīkṣita wrote *Vivṛtti* on *Ādityastotraratna.*[127]

(Tirumalai) Caturvediśatakratu Nāvalpakkam (Ayyā) Veṅkatācārya (18th cent.)[128] was a disciple of Annaya and descendant of Kumāra Tātācarya. He is the author of several *stotras* and a *Bhāṇa.*

These are some of his *stotras*:

a. *Lakṣmīśataka* in 101 verses. This *stotra* is full of *yamaka.*

janaka nṛpa kanyakām tām
janita namaskārairjanahitaikām tām /
kakutsthanātha kāntām
kalaye kauṭilya vilāsa alakāntām.

b. *Yamakarāmāyaṇa* in 56 verses.

rātrimcara hā nirasi śri rāma
madarīn api hā! nirāsīryati
hṛdayam me bahūnyahāni rāsi //

c. *Hanūmatstotra* was composed at the time of Ciramūr car festival. This is in 22 verses and various metres are used.

yasyānubhavam adhigamya raghupravirassaumitraye āvahita bhāṣaṇam acareti /
prītyā ādideśa tam aham pavamānasūnum
tuṣṭuvur asmi dhik idam mama sāhasikyam //

d. *Hanumat daṇḍaka.*

e. *Raghunandanabirudāvalī.*

añcati dinakara śubhakula tilakam
udañcati mama hṛdayamatama malinam api
idañca tiraskṛta puṣkala duṣkṛtim
añcati tasya hitasya hitasya //

f. *Vaiśākotsavavarṇana* is an interesting poem since it gives a detailed and graphic description of the Brahmotsava of Lord Varadarāja of Kāñci. This is in 72 verses.

g. *Maṅgalāṣṭaka* is another work of this author in 9 verses. This is intendedto invoke the blessings of Lord Veṇkaṭeśa on the occasion of the *upanayana* and *vivāha.*

h. *Govardhanoddhāristotra* is in 9 verses with the refrain ' *nama idam govardhanoddhāriṇe.* This *stotra* is also full of alliteration.

pratyūhaugha nivāriṇe hitakṛte sūryātmajāvāriṇe
durdarśābhīnāvārine svatamasadṛṣṭeṣu samvāriṇe
satesvātma vivāriṇe satapase vanyāya nivāriṇe
nityānandatu dhāriṇe nama idam govardhanoddhāriṇe

i. The *Navarātrī* and other festivals conducted by Tirumallabhūpa and their grandeur are eulogised in *Navarātra Vijayadaśmī Dipāvalīpraśaṁsā.* This is in ll verses. The following verse compares Tirumala with Lord Śiva.

ajasram aṅgīkṛta sarva maṅgalam
sphuran mahāsenam ahīnabhūṣaṇam /
praśasta vetaṇḍa mukhopa lālitam
śaṅke śivam tirumala medinīśam //

j. *Nakṣatramālikāstotra* on Hayagrīva in 20 verṣes.

k. *Satyañjayasvāmi* (*mahāsamāradhana*) *stotra* in ll verses.

l. *Rāmāyaṇagadya.*

Daśaratha-narapatı cirakṛta bahutara sukṛta bhāra dāhakṛta śatamakha mukha nikhila makhabhug abhilaṣita niśicara kula prārthanā kṛta avatāram.

m. *Śri Rāmacandrastuti* in ll verses.

Tēvaram[128 (a)] of the Nāyanmārs is one of the earliest *stotra* literature of Tamilnadu as also the *psalms* of Āḻvārs, *Nālāyira Divayaprabandham.* The melodies in which *Tēvāram* hymns are to be sung are given. Nāthamuni too fixed the mode of singing the *Pāśurams.* Several types of poetic embellishments were used in *Tevāram.* Of these a few are given here.

In *Ēkapātam* the same first line is repeated in the subsequent three lines, each line having a different meaning.

pirama puratturai yemmān nemmān (l370)

Another device is the *Yamaka* in which a word or phrase in a particular sense in one line is repeated in another line with different connotation. This is a sort of punning.

urruumai cervatu mey yinaiyē yuṇarvatu ninnaruḷ meyyinaiyē
karravar kāyvatu kāmanaiye kanal viḻi kāyvatu kāmanaiyē /
arrammaraippatum un paṇiye amararkaḷ ceyvatum un paṇiye
perru mukantatu kantanaiye piramapurattai yukantanaiye // (40l2)

One *patikam* is given as *Gomūtripatikam.* But this *patikam* does not fit into the definition of such a figure of speech ie., the movement of a cow while passing urine. Sambandhar (*Patikam* II.2l0) gives here the l2 names of Śīrkāḻi. Last name found in the previous verse becomes the first name in the second verse. Thus zig-zag course is produced. This is called *Vaḷinuṭakku māvin pāiccal.*

Kūṭarcatukkam is thus described. *Catukkam* means junction of four roads. A *patikam* was sung at Kūṭal (Madurai) in praise of the Lord who is present at Mayentiram, Kayilāyam, Ārūr and Ānaikkā.

maṇ atu uṇṭa ari malaron kāṇā veṇṇāval virumpu mayentirarcem
kaṇṇatu ōṅkiya kayilaiyārum aṇṇal ārūr āti ānaik kāve // (3967)

Here the junction of the above mentioned four holy shrines dedicated to Śiva are referred to.

The *Gomūtri* and *Kūṭacatukka* do not fit into the definition of the Sanskrit rhetoricians.

Another variety of metre handled in *Tēvāram* is the *Irukkukuṛaḷ*. These songs resemble the Vedic *mantras* in form and content. Hence this name -

karu ār kacci tiru ēkampattu oruvā
enna maruvā vinaiye (3233)
mati ār kacci nati ekampam vitiyāl
ētta pati āvāre (3234)

Another device is used in *Tēvāram*. It is *Mālāimāṟṟu* which is a kind of literary feat. The verse read from beginning to end and end to beginning is the same. The following verse is an example for this :

1) *yā mā mā nīyā māmā yāḻī kāmā kāṇā kā*

2) *kāṇā kāmā kāḻīyā mā māyā nī mā mā yā //*

3) *yām āmā nī ām ām mā yāḻi kāmākāṇ nākā*

4) *kāṇā kāmā kāḻiyāmā māyā nī mā māyā //* (4057)

Such devices are used in *Pādukāsahasra* of Deśika.

Apart from the literary feats exhibited in these hymns of *Tēvāram*, the influence of Vedas and mythology are seen in *Tevaram*.

The God is the inner meaning of the Vedas

vētam nānkinum meyp poruḷāvatu
nāthan nāmam namaccivāyave (3320)[129]

This concept of God as the purport of the Vedas is referred to in several *stotras*.

Sivānandalahari contains several verses, the ideas found in which run parallel to those in Tamil hymns. Here a few verses are given.[130]

The futility of mere knowledge of logic is mentioned in the following verse of *Śivānandalahari*.

ghaṭo vā mṛt piṇḍo'pyaṇurapi ca dhūmo'gniracalaḥ
paṭo vā tantur vā pariharati kim ghoraśamanam /
vṛthā kaṇṭhakṣobham vahasi tarasā tarkavacasā
padāmbhojam śambhor bhaja parama saukhyam vraja sudhīḥ //

The mere knowledge of logic leads nowhere. It has only credit in assemblies and is waste of energy. Only Śiva's lotus-like feet leads you to salvation.

Tāyumānavar expresses the same idea in a verse -

kaṟṟatun kēṭṭatun tāne yētukkākak
ghaṭa paṭa menruṟuṭṭataṟkō kallāl emmān
kuṟṟamaṟak kaikāṭṭuṅ karuttaik kaṇṭu
kuṇaṅkuṟiyaṟ ṟinpa niṭṭai kūṭa vanṟo //

In another verse of *Sivānandalahari* the devotee, Śaṅkara pleads thus :

nityam svodara poṣaṇāya sakalānuddiśya vittāśayā
vyartham paryaṭanam karomi bhavatas sevām na jāne vibho /
majjanmāntara puṇya pāka phalatas tvam sarva sarvāntaras
tiṣṭhasyeva hi tena vā paśupate te rakṣaṇīyo asmi aham.// ll57

The devotee because of the merits done in the past births understands that he finds the supreme one in all beings. Hence without resorting to begging others for money etc., he wants protection by the Lord.

Sundarar too expresses almost the same idea in a *Tēvāram*

tammaiye pukaḻnticcai pēśinum
cārvinum toṇṭar tarukilāp
poymaiyāḷaraip pāṭāte entai
pukalūr pāṭumin pulavīrkāḷ
immaiye tarum śorum kūṟaiyum ettal ām iṭar keṭalum ām
ammaiye civalōkam āḷvatarku yātum aiyuṟavillaiye // (7575)

In a few verses through śleṣa he describes Śiva giving comparisons:

Peacock and Siva

ākaśena śikhī samasta phaṇinām netrā kalāpī natā
anugrāhi praṇavopadeśa ninadaiḥ kekīti yo gīyate /
śyāmām śailasamudbhavām ghaṇarucim dṛṣṭvā naṭantam mudā
vedāntopavane vihārarasikām tam nīlakaṇṭham bhaje // (v.53)

Similarly the author gives description with lion (v. 44), jasmine (v. 50), bee (v. 5l), cloud, etc.

Kavi Kālamēkam was one of the famous Tamil poets who wrote several verses full of poetic beauty. He too makes a comparison between pumpkin and Śiva in a verse through the power of *Śleṣa*.

aṭinanti certalāl ākam veḷuttu
koṭiyum oru pakkattil koṇṭu - vaṭivu uṭaiya
māśuṇattaip pūṇṭu vaḷaittaḻumpu peṟṟatanāl
puśuṇikkāy īśan enap poṟṟu //

A *stotra* on Sun God is found in the name of Sundara. But this seems to be not by him. But *Suryanār Tēvāram* so called includes the important aspects of Sun God as mentioned in the Vedas and the belief in the benefits that come to one by worshipping sun.

The verse 3 refers to the eight syllabled, mantra on Sun-God:

mantiraṅkaḷ īr eṭṭun eṭṭum poṟṟi

4) *vitak (ku) uṭalil*

5) *toḻu nōy tīrkkum mika marunte* (vol. II pp. 508-9).

A *stotra* on *Muruka* called *Murukar katampam* is found. This is also called *Rāmāyaṇak kali netil.* This *stotra* in the first half of a verse praises Muruka and the second half on Rāma.

phaktiyāl tinamum neṛiyinalañcip
pañca putiyamume yunnaip
paṇiya nānariyēn; aran moḻiyariyen
moḻintiṭum palamoḻi moḻiyen /
mōkṣmāy narakil viḻntiṭa tanakkuḷ
muṇṭakap patame yarulvāy
cuṟṟamāy ēḻu marāmaram tulaittut
tunkanām vāliyai vaṭaittuc
cukrīvanaip patantanile yalittut
tōkai pāl tūtu viṭutte
cittame makiḻṅtu tūtuvanturaikkat
ṭentirai varuṇanai paṇiyac
cenṟamāl maruka / palanivāḷ murukā /
tevane! tēvarkaḷ nāyakane / (*JTSMSL.* XVIII. 1 & 2).

Vīraikkavirāja Paṇḍitar, who belonged to the 16th cent (V.4). composed the Tamil version of *Saundaryalaharī* of Śaṅkara. *V.73.*

taruna maṅkalai unatu cintai talainta pālamutu ūrināl
aruṇa koṅkaiyil atu perun kavi alai neṭunkātal ākumo /
varuṇan nāṅkuru kauṇiyan ciru madalai ampuyal parukiya
porul nayam peru kavitai enṟu oru punita mari polintatu

A commentary was written by Allappa Nāvalar on this Tamil version of *Saundaryalahari*.

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CHAPTER XV

PURĀṆAS AND STHALAMĀHĀTMYAS

In the field of Purāṇic literature, a few of the major *purāṇas* were produced from Tamil Nadu. Besides, some of these *purāṇas* in Sanskrit were either translated or adapted in Tamil. Several purāṇic texts are referred to in *Tēvāram*. In the Manuscripts Libraries, expecially in the South, several manuscripts of these Tamil versions of the *purāṇas* as also *Sthalamāhātmyas* dealing with the holy shrines or the lives of Saint singers are available. An account of the Tamil versions of the *purāṇas* is given by V.Raghavan in the *Purāṇa*[1] Bulletin. Earlier we find from an inscription that a scholar Vīraitalaivan Parasamaya Koḷari wrote, besides a Kāvya (?), *Kannivanapurāṇa* and *Aṣṭādaśapurāṇa*.[2] This inscription found at Tiruppātirippuliyūr belongs to the period of Kulōttuṅga Coḷa (1018 A.D.). Thus there was activity going on in the field of *Purāṇas* from early times. *Śivapurāṇa* by Māṇikkavācakar can be referred to here as an example for this branch of literature, perhaps, as the earliest one.

The definition of the Tamil purāṇas is not traceable till the 15th cent. There is also a view held by the Westerners and a few Indian scholars, that stories in the Prākṛt language were gathered together and to these were added further details by Sanskrit scholars according to their fancies and thus the *purāṇas*[3] were written. How far this theory is valid needs further proof and probably this theory is applicable to the Jain *purāṇas* (?).

Whatever may be the theories that are postulated, it appears that a few *purāṇas* are known only through quotations.[4] Kamil Zevelebil[5] classifies the Tamil *purāṇas* into three varieties (1) Full or Partial renderings of the eighteen Sanskrit *Mahāpurāṇas* (2) Hagiographical *purāṇas* (3) *Sthalapurāṇas*.

Of these *Māpurāṇa* and *Bhūtapurāṇa* belong to the Sangam age. *Tevārappatika* 4.14 is named as *Daśapurāṇa* and 5.95 as *Liṅgapurāṇa*. These do not fit into the characteristics of *Purāṇas* but they are only eulogies on Śiva.

Saint Māṇikkavācakar's (9th cent.) *Vāḻttuntiruvakal* in the *Tiruvācakam* is called *Śivapurāṇa*.[6]

No definition has been given regarding *Puraṇas* till the 15th Cent.[7] About the 12th or 14th Century the *Tiruttoṇḍar Purāṇam* was written by the Great Poet - Śaivite Sekkiḻar, on the lives of the Nāyanmārs. This was followed up by Kacciappar who wrote the well-known *Kandapurāṇa*. Thus the contribution to Tamil *Purāṇas* was continued.[8]

Hence it is suffice to say that the activities in the field of puranic lore was continued without break.

Skanda Purāṇa and *Sūta Saṁhitā* especially, a part of it is said to be of South Indian origin. An inscription found at Tiruppatirippuliyūr dated llll, lll9 A.D. belonging to Kulottuṅga Cola's period, a religious person, by name Viraittalaivan Parasamaya Koḷari is referred to. He is said to have written *Kannivana Purāṇa* and *Aṣṭādaśapurāṇa*.[9] Several other references to various *purāṇas* are given in this Article.

Of all the major *Purāṇas*, *Skanda Purāṇa* had a strong hold in the minds of the people of South India. Hence, we find Tamil versions of this *purāṇa*, of which the important one is by Kacciappa Śivācārya, a scholar well versed in Vedas, Vedaṅgas and Āgamas. The Sanskrit text contains the following sections: *Sivarahasya Khaṇḍa: Asura, Vira, Māhendra, Yuddha* and *Deva, Dakṣa* and *Upadeśa Khaṇḍa*[10] of *Śaṅkara Sāmhitā, Śivarahasyakhaṇḍa*. The other Tamil versions in prose and verse are:

1. *Kandapurāṇa Saṅgraha* (prose)[11]
2. *Kandapurāṇa-c-curukkam* by Sambandha Śaraṇālaya Svāmi.[12]

Kacciappa and Sambandha Śaraṇālaya, both of them, say in the introductory verses, that they are writing these versions based on the Sanskrit text by Sūta.

nan buviyiṭattu mikka naimica vanattu vāḻun.
.... cīr munivar ketpac cūta narikkuraitta.....
botamaru cūta muni pukaṉra kāntap pukaḻ kkaṭalir paṭinta tan kat porulatana
metaku vān punalarunti vaiya muyya.....
nātan arul peṟu nanti tantiṭak
kolita tunar canar kumaran kūriṭa
vāta nārāyaṇamuni vakuppa
cūta noṭyatu mūvāru tolkatai (v.8)
munpu cūtan moḻi vaṭa nurkatai
pinpiyār tamiḻippeṟṟi pira ceppuken (v. 15)

Bhāgavata Purāṇa

Bhāgavatapurāṇa held in much reverence is considered to have been written in Tamil Nadu. The introductory verses[13] specifically say that when Bhakti was rarely not to be found in the other parts of the country, in Tamil Nadu, it held full sway and its popularity and the cult of devotion were too strong especially in the field of Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism.

Sudarśanasūri also known as Sudarśanabhaṭṭa or Vedavyāsabhaṭṭārya or Vyāsārya (13th-14th cent. A.D.), well-known author of the commentary on *Śrībhāṣya* of Rāmānuja, was the son of Vāgvijayasūri and pupil of Vātsya Varadācārya. He wrote the commentary *Śukapakṣīya*[14] on the *Bhāgavata.*

A few other commentaries on the *Bhāgavata* by Vaiṣṇavite scholars are *Munibhāvaprakāśika*[15] by Kṛṣṇaguru of Bhāradvaja gotra. He was the son of Nṛsiṁhaguru and nephew and pupil of Rāma Deśika Brahmacārin. He pays respects to Vadibhīkara Veṅkaṭārya. Probably he consulted the commentary *Śukapakṣīya* of Sudarśana Sūri.

(Amṛtakavi) Vīrarāghava of Vatsagotra, son of Ahobala and grandson of Sriśailaguru wrote *Śukatātparyaratnāvali*[16] on the *Bhāgavata.*

Nṛsiṁha, son of Śrinivāsaguru and pupil of another Śrinivāsaguru, wrote *Śukahṛdayarañjani*[17] on the *Bhāgavata.*

Bhāṣyakārasūri, pupil of Kauṇḍinya Veṅkaṭācārya composed *Bhāgavatatatvārthadīpikā.*[18]

A few other commentaries belonging to this class are *Jayamaṅgalā*[19] by Śrīnivasa, son of Kauśika Tatācārya.

One Kṛṣṇaguru (early part of the 13th cent. A.D.), who is quoted many times by Vedānta Desiika in his *Pāñcarātrarakṣā* appears to have written a commentary on the *Bhāgavata.*[20] He was a disciple of Somayāji Āṇḍān.

Kālahastiyajvan of Brahmadeśa of North Arcot district wrote a commentary on the *Bhāgavata*, which is referred to by his grandson Kacchapeśvara Dikṣita, author of *Rāmacandrayaśobhūṣana*[21] on a ruler of Kārveṭinagar (Bommarāja).

Appayya Dīkṣita, different from the well-known polymath, but a staunch follower of the famous Dīkṣita, who was the son of Śrīnivāsādhvarin of Śrī Vatsagotra, wrote the commentary *Jayollāsanidhi*[22] on the *Bhāgavata.* Select portions of this *purāṇa* are expounded from the Śaiva point of view.

Another Appaya Dīkṣita who advocated *Sāṅkhyayogasamuccaya* wrote a commentary on the eleventh[23] *Skandha* of the *Bhāgavata*.

Sadāśiva Brahmendra, the well-known Advaitin, wrote *Bhāgavatasaṅgraha*.[24]

Bhāgavata - Tamil Versions

There are two Tamil versions of the *Bhāgavata*, one by Cevvaiccūṭuvār of Vempattūr and Madhura Kavi Varadarāja Iyengar or Aruḷāḷa Tevar of Nellinakar. One Ariyappapulavar is said to have composed a *Bhāgavata*, but he has been identified as Cevvaiccūṭuvār by M.Raghava Ayyangar.[25]

Cevvaiccūṭuvār's *Bhāgavata* contains 4970 verses, divided into twelve big sections each containing several small chapters. The author lived during the 15th century. This work also known as *Viṇṭupākavatam*, deals with the stories of four *avatāras* of Viṣṇu.

Varadarāja Iyengar's version[26] of the *Bhāgavata* is divided into 132 *paṭalas* and known as *Vāsutevakatai* or *Mahāpākavatam*. He belonged to 1543 A.D. This work contains 9147 (or 9151) *viruttam* verses.

Varadarāja Iyengar has added an introductory article to *Bhāgavatalakṣaṇa*. He says here that there are seven versions of the *Bhāgavata* in Sanskrit. *Itihāsa Bhāgavata*, *Purāṇa Bhāgavata*, *Saṁhitā*, *Upasaṁhitā*, *Viṣṇurahasya*, *Viṣṇuyāmala* and *Gautamasaṁhitā*. He says that Ariyappapulavar (Cevvaiccūṭuvār) Tamilised the *Itihāsa Bhāgavata* and he wrote the Tamil translation of the *Purāṇa Bhāgavata*. In the *Itihāsabhāgavata*, Śuka and Parīkṣit were the interlocutors and in the *Purāṇa Bhāgavata* Nārada and Rukmiṇī were the interlocutors. [27]

The format of the Tamil translation of Varadarāja Iyengar also differs from the Sanskrit version as one comes across here the norms of Tamil *purāṇas* like descriptions of city, river, God etc. Varadarāja's version contains *Tiruvaraṅkappaṭalam*, *Naimicāraṇyappaṭalam*, *Ārṟuppaṭalam*, *Nāṭṭuppaṭalam* and *Nakarappaṭalam*. These divisions are not found in the Cevvaiccūṭuvār *Bhāgavata*. Vaiṣṇavite tenets and philosophical concepts are found mentioned in Varadarāja's version whereas they do not find a place in Cevvaiccūṭuvār's.

The following reference by K.V. Zvelebil can be mentioned.[28] He refers to three versions of the *Bhāgavata*: Cevvaiccūṭuvār of Vempattūr, Aruḷāla Tācar or Varatarāca Aiyaṅkār of Nellinakar and Ariyappa Pulavar of Kumbhakonam. He does not consider Ariyappa Pulavar and Cevvaicūṭuvār as one and the same. Hence according to him there are three versions of the *Bhāgavata*.[29]

In Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal Library manuscripts' collection, a manuscript containing a Tamil commentary by Sri Sankaranarayana Sastri, on the *Bhāgavata* is available. The colophon runs thus:

> *śrīmat paramahaṁsa parivrājakācārya, śrī viśveśvarānanda yatīndra śrīmad anubhavānanda pūjyapāda vairāgya bhakti jñānopayogi śrī rāmakṛṣṇa viduṣaḥ putraḥ, śrī śaṅkaranārāyaṇa śāstri śrīmad bhāgavataekādaśam mūlattukkum vyākhyānattukkum dramiḍa bhāṣaiyile collappaṭṭirukkinratu.*[30]

Bhāgavatasāra is by Tāṇḍaveśar. The following verse refers to this:

> *pāruḷork kakalāda bhavattāpari keṭap bhāgavatattaik kañcat*
> *tārulān tāṇḍavanār bhāgavata sāramena tamiḻ ceyvittān /*
> *terulā neṭu vitik karumpari nakarīñca kulātipan koṟṟa*
> *mata veḷ periyāṇṭik puḻukaṇi vēn tulakāḷu mannarēṟa//*
> *vaṭamoḻiyil vetavyātan pukaḻum bhāgavata nūlai vāvun*
> *kaṭalamutaṅ tiṟatti yeṭuttiruṅ kaṟaiyin mel vaitta kāttipōka /*
> *kuṭamunivan rentamiḻar bhāgavata sāramenak kuritturaittan*
> *taṭa maliyu merakarap pūsurar kon karitiyuṇar tāṇṭaveśar //* [31]

Ati Vira Rāma Pāṇḍya, ruler of Tenkāśi (1564 - 96 A.D.) rendered into Tamil, *Kūrma*,[32] *Liṅga*[33] and *Kāśīkhaṇḍa*.[34] The translator has closely followed the Sanskrit text, of *Kūrma Purāṇa*. *Liṅga Purāṇa* Tamil version is condensed to a great extent. The third one, *Kāśīkhaṇḍa*, follows the Sanskrit original. In the *Kūrma Purāṇa* Tamil version, the reference to the rendering of the Sanskrit *Purāṇa* in Tamil, as also reference to Vyāsa are found in the following verse:

> 1. *vaṭa moḻi tokutta deiva mākkataiyai vaṭitta centamiḻinār ceytān.* (10)
> 2. *tāṭṭāmarait taliniretti vyātan pātan ralaikkoṇṭu .....* (*Pūrva kāṇṭa*) v.5.

The Tamil version of *Liṅga purāṇa*,[35] referred to before, has been analysed by V.Raghavan.

In the Triennial Catalogue of the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, a manuscript of *Kolācala Purāṇa*,[36] said to be from *Liṅga Purāṇa* is referred to. In this work, the author (?) says in the beginning thus :

> *tannamirtak kola varai tuyilaraṅkan caritai tanai vyāsa muni cārrac*
> *cūtar puṇṇiya nemiśark kuraikka makilntar pukal tutippo (r) (r)*
> *pārkkaṭal pol peruki vāḻvar.*

Kalācala is Ceñci (Gingie) or Sañjīvagiri. Several episodes as Varāhamūrti killing Gomuhāsura, Mārkaṇḍeya seeking the refuge of Viṣṇu, Viṣṇu incarnating himself as God Araṅganātha are narrated in the *purāṇa*.

Ariccantira Purāṇa (Hariścandra Purāṇa) in *Viruttam* was composed by Nallūr Viraī Āśukavirāśan. The debut of this *Purāṇa* was held in the *maṇṭapa* on the banks of the Cakratīrtha, in front of the deity Viṣṇu at Tiruppullāṇi, in the year (1446 Śaka) (1524 A.D.). The author refers to another *Ariccandra Carita* in Veṇpa metre. (*ten moḻilil avan caritam kūṟum veṇpā nūlaiyum āyntu*). He also adds that he has consulted a few works in Sanskrit on the life of Hariścandra.

tan kavikaik kuricilariccantiran tan caritamātai taraṇiyor
vitiyin iraraciḻanta variccantirantān
viyan kataiyām ven kataiyai viruttamākki
cakkara tīrttak karai mēn maṇṭapattut
kati taru cīr nallūr vāḻ vīrai yāśu
kavi ṛāśan kaviyaraṅkameṟṟināne.

(Centamiḻ XIII. pp.52-3).

viruppameyta van kaviñar vakai vakaiyē vakutturaitta vaṭamoḻiyum
ten moḻiyil valuvitata ven kaviyum[37] .....

Bṛhadīśvara Māhātmya[38] is in 30 chapters and gives an account of the acts of sixteen Coḻa kings, devotional to Lord Śiva. The list of places where Śiva Temples, which were either constructed or renovated by these Kings are given in detail. The occasions for such religious deeds are also mentioned.

Āmraṿanakṣetramāhātmya[39] is from *Skandapurāṇa*, *Agastya Saṁhitā*, *Kṣetrakhaṇḍa*. This is in 26 chapters. In this work, we find legends connected with the birth of a son for sage Mṛkaṇḍu by the grace of Śiva, Brahma performing penance to get rid of a curse, Indra and Marudanta's worship for release from sins, story of Vedamitra, Sūrya's worship, Saṁjñā offering *pūjā*, Candra (Moon) becoming Lord of the night, Samudra rāja (King of the ocean) getting purified, Śiva and Pārvati taking the form of deer to protect fawns, greatness of Gāyatrī river and Coḻa King Śvetaketu building a temple for Āmravaneśvara.

This work also gives an account of the holiness of Tirumānturai (Vaḍa Karai Mānturai) near Trichy. The presiding deity here is Āmravaneśvara and the Goddess Bālāmbikā. This city is variously called as Brahmānandapura, Āmravana, Aghāpahāri, Mṛkaṇḍīsvarapura and Mṛgatīrthapura. The God is *Svayambhū* and has several names - Sudhā Ratneśvara, Mṛkaṇḍīśvara and Āmravaneśvara. In the 16th chapter of this *Purāṇa*, there is reference to Marudanta

building a temple in the eastern direction of Tirumānturai. There a *Liṅga* was installed by him and a village for Brahmins was established by Marudanta. This village called as Aghaṁhara got transformed as Āṅkarai.

In the period of the Marathas, elephants were employed for war, for pulling heavy vehicles, and for temple festivals. *Serfojicarita*[41] gives an account of the elephants and cavalry pulling down the fort of Arantāngi (Tranquebar).

Kaliviḍambana or *Tiruvārur Māhātmya*[40] is a work composed during the Maratha rule of Tanjore. This work, though given the title as *māhātmya*, is not on the greatness of the holy place, but a satire ridiculing the prevalent conditions of the official system during the period of Maratha rulers.

Kaliviḍambana gives us the information that the Marathas followed the rules as prescribed for taking care of the elephants. There were hospitals for horses and elephants at Tiruvārūr. Of the five *sabhas*, the cities Mannargudi, Mayura, Kumbhakonam, etc. Ārūr was the central place which was well developed and a prosperous city. So the animals that were ill and those which were wounded in the battles were treated at the hospital at Tiruvārūr.

The elephants had to be provided with milk, ghee and curd as also cooked food and other such items in fairly large quantities for their nourishment. These items were to be provided by the employees under the Maratha Kings. But these employees did not attend to these duties and made misuse of the provisions thus supplied. All these are presented in *Kaliviḍambana.*

The doctor at Ārūr, who was in charge of the elephants and horses, gave a complaint to the King that the articles of food were not being given by the officials (I.15, 16,17). The free gifts of coins to the needy were not being properly used. The doctors were being prevented from doing their jobs. The machinery belonging to the government was being misued by the officials. Some other officials were used for tasks other than what they were assigned. Thus several difficulties were faced by the higher officials employed at Tiruvārūr. Moreover, there were differences of opinion between the employers and employees. In short, there was corruption and malpractice going on at Tiruvārūr. Thus, the *Kaliviḍambana* or *Tiruvārūr Māhātmya* gives (in the first chapter), a picture of the mistakes done and troubles caused by the officials under the Maratha rule.

Kālakūṭāśanakṣetra māhātmya[42] from *Śivarahasyakhaṇḍa uttarabhāga* of the *Skandapurāṇa* is on the shrine Śuruṭṭupalli which is located on the way to Nāgalāpuram, near Ūttukkoṭṭai. Here the idol of Śiva is in a lying posture. The Lord, after having taken the fatal poison, *Hālāhala*, that arose from the ocean,

when it was being churned, blessed the Gods and left for Kailāsa. On the way he saw a *liṅga*, Valmīkeśvara, located at a place called Mahākaṭaka or Kālakuṭāśanakṣetra, where there were plenty of shade providing trees and a river full of cool water. There, Śiva wanted to take rest and therefore got down. While lying down there, he fell asleep; because of the heat of poison. He got up on a Tuesday evening, during the thirteenth day of the dark fortnight. At the request of Viṣṇu and other Gods, he stayed there in the reclining form. This is the origin of this holy shrine. This text in five sections speaks highly about the efficacy of worshipping Śiva here and the sacredness of this place.

Cyutapuramāhātmya[43] is from *Īśānasaṁhitā* of the *Śaivapurāṇa*. This deals with the legends associated with Vaḻuvūr. The Lord here is called Kṛttivāsas, who wears the elephant's skin. The tank is called Hastipuṣkariṇī. Lord Śiva is said to have killed Gajāsura, in this place and worn the skin of the demon, hence known as Gajasaṁhāramūrti.

Śaṅkaravilāsa[44] is by Cidambaranātha Kavi and contains 24 chapters. The author pays obeisance to Īśāna deva and to Kamalai Jñānaprakāśa. Jñānadeva referred to here was the preceptor of Varatuṅga Rāma Pāṇḍya. Some of the important topics in this *purāṇa* are Upamanya begetting the milky ocean, Nandikeśvara's life story, Viṣṇu worshipping Śiva for getting the discus, greatness of *pañcākṣara* and the holy ash, the *rudrākṣa*, *Kamalālaya Māhātmya* and others. Cidambaranātha must have flourished during the 16th cent. A.D.

Brahmottarakāṇḍa referred to above and the *Śaṅkaravilāsa* bear close resemblance and these are Śaiva *purāṇas* in Tamil adapted from Sanskrit. The original source for them is Sūta's *purāṇa*.

mā tava cūtan conna mākkatai vaṭittu (p.4. v.17)

References are made to Vyāsa, Nandi and Sanatkumāra.[45]

Brahmottarakāṇḍa,[46] was translated into Tamil by Varatuṅgarāmapāṇḍya, who was the disciple of Īśānamuni of Vempattūr. He is said to be the brother of Ativīrarāmapāṇḍya. He must have lived during the end of 16th cent and early part of 17th cent.

varatuṅkarāman iyal maturaic caṅkaṅ
ciranta vaṟukāṟ piṭan taniṟ brammottirakāṇṭan teṅ collākki
yaṟaattaḻai yaṅ kaviñar cevikkāramutamāka varaṅkeṟṟināne.

The greatness of *Pañcākṣara*, *Sivarātri*, *Pradoṣa*, *Somavāra*, *Śivayoga*, Sacred ash, Umāmaheśvara worhship and Śrīrudra is given here. There are 22 chapters in this work.

Tirukkaṭaiyūr (Kaṭavūr) *māhātmya*[47] is a musical composition on the holy shrine bearing that name and located in Tanjore district. The presiding deity, Śiva is called as Amṛtaghaṭeśvara and the Goddess as Abhirāmi. This shrine is well known for the legend of Mārkaṇḍeya who was saved by Śiva from death and blessed with the eternal age of 16 years. This was probably composed in the 18th century by one Siri.

The legendary account of this holy shrine runs thus: *Amṛta* or nectar got from the ocean while being churned was placed at Vilvavana (Tirukkaṭaiyūr) by the Devas and Asuras. They coming after bath found the nectar-pot turned into a phallus or *liṅga*. Viṣṇu praised Śiva in this shrine and got the discus with which he killed the demons.

Another legend found here is that of the diamond merchant, Ratnākara. He built pavilions and towers for the God. Lord Śiva pleased by his devotion appeared before him and gave him salvation.

To prove the holiness of the place another legend is also given here. Puṇḍarīka, a lion, struck by a hunter, shed its life on the outskirts of the city and got salvation.

The literary beauty of this work can be understood from the following Cūrṇikā and Daru.

cūrṇikā

murāri viracita vara tara stuti janita harṣo doṣapati-
śakalabhūṣākalita jaṭā makuṭadeśaḥ sudhāghaṭeśaḥ
sakala dānava cakram vakrimanisūdanam cakrāyudham
śakrānujāya samarpayāmāsa.

daru

hara śambho mahādeva hariṇāṅka śikhāmaṇe
sura vandita padābja somasūryāgnilocana
bhavapāthodhimagnam mām paripālaya śaṅkara
tava padāmbujadhyānam satatam sulabham kuru.

Tiruttaṇikṣetramāhātmya or *Taṇikaipurāṇa vacanam*[48] in Tamil is on the holy shrine at Tiruttaṇi - a hill shrine dedicated to Lord Subrahmaṇya. This was written by Ta.Pu. Murugesa Nayakar. It contains thirty eight sections and describes several deeds of Muruga like imprisoning the creator, imparting the significance of the *Praṇava* to Lord Śiva, killing the demons Sūrapadma and others. The philosophical concepts such as *pati, paśu, māyā* etc. forming the basis of the Śaiva school of thought are also explained.

Since the interlocutor is referred to in the origin of the *māhātmya*, this might have been based on a Sanskrit version. Here it is mentioned that this *māhātmya* forms part of the *Śaṅkara saṁhitā* of the *Skandapurāṇa*.

Tiruttaṇi is called by several names: Purāṇagiri, Kṣaṇikācala, Mūlādri, Allakādri, Kalpacittu, Taṇikai, Praṇavārthapura, Indranagara, Nāradapriya and Aghorakaivalya.

Śrī *Dakṣiṇakuṭīdvīpakṣetramāhātmya*[49] is an important work in the field of Sthala-māhātmyas. This is said to be a part of the *Skandapurāṇa*, *Sanatkumāra Saṁhitā*, *Sahyajākhaṇḍa*. This *Māhātmya* is said to have been narrated by Skanda to Sanatkumāra, Sanatkumāra to Sūta and Sūta to Śaunaka. The special feature of this treatise is that it deals with the greatness of Śiva in detail.

Dakṣiṇakuṭī (Tuṭṭakuṭi) *māhātmya* is in 40 chapters. Apart from being a work on the holiness of Dakṣiṇakuṭī, it explains in detail the true import of Śiva's form. This holy place called in Tamil as Tiruttenkuṭitiṭṭai is one of the twenty-eight *svayambhūkṣetras*. This place is located between Veṇṇāṟu and Veṭṭāru. An account of the devotees who got salvation by worshipping the God and performing penance at this place is given: Yama getting released from his mother's curse, Ilā getting back his male form, Vasiṣṭha's worship, Lord Muruga getting rid of the serpent form, Bhairava getting released from the Brahmahattidoṣa for having plucked off one of Brahmā's head, Brahmā, the creator regaining the power of creation, Mahāviṣṇu being endowed with strength to kill Madhukaiṭabha and so on figure here.

The holy water tanks here are the Śūlatīrtha (Paśutīrtha) and Cakratīrtha. This city has also another name Rathapuri, as Sumāli's chariot wheel got stuck up here. This city is also called as Palāśavana by Vasiṣṭha in the Kṛtayuga, as Samyākavana by Bhairava in the Tretā yuga and as Bilvavana by Ādiśeṣa in the Dvāpara yuga and as Mālatīvana by Maṅgalādevi in the Kaliyuga. Jayacoḷarāja performed the Rudrapāśupata sacrifice here which gave him the benefit of Indra's poṣition. Lokanāyakī, the presiding Goddess here blessed Sugandhī by bringing back to life her husband. Maṅgala, a vaiśya lady, got rid of her widowhood by the grace of Puṣṭivināyaka and Indra released the waters from Agastya's vessel and made the Kaverī flow.

Some special features of this *purāṇa* are the *Manustuti* (Ch.6), description of the greatness of Puṣṭivināyaka (Ch.8), Sudhāgaṇeśa's story (Ch.ll). greatness of Kārtavīrya (Ch.l3-l6), *Aparādhakṣāntyākhyanāgeśastuti* (Ch.20) , the description of Śiva's body as of the form of *Pañcākṣara* (Ch.28) and

Ādiśaivādipañcavidhaśaivalakṣaṇavarṇana (Ch.40). The Chapters 28 and 40 are of great importance in that they have a bearing on the field of Śaivism. Hence, this work which portrays the holiness of Dakṣiṇakuṭī or Tiṭṭakuṭi has got a unique place in the Śaivism.

Nandipuramāhātmya,[50] which is said to be from the *Bhaviṣyottarapurāṇa*, describes a shrine Nandipura which is said to be four *yojanās* from Śrīraṅgam, two *yojanās* from the Western ocean, one *yojanā* from Campakāraṇya and one *krośa* from Cakratīrtha of Kaverī. This work is in 4 chapters and contains 208 verses. This treatise describes how Nandi got relieved from the curse of Jaya and Vijaya, the guards of Lord Viṣṇu. The original name of this place appears to be Śrīnivāsapura and at Nandi's request the place was named after him. This account of the shrine includes also the story of Śibi's life. There are also *stotras* on Śiva,[51] Viṣṇu[52] and one by Śibi.[53]

Nāgeśakṣetramāhātmya[54]

On Nāganāthasvāmi and Amṛtanāyakī at Pāmbaṇi (Pāralīccaram) Rājamannārkuḍi.

Tiruppāmbaṇikṣetra (*Tiruppātālīccaram*) from *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*, *Kṣetra Vaibhavakhaṇḍa*, in ll Chapters.

(a) Two stories on Mucukunda offering cashewnut fruit to Skanda at Pāmbaṇi.

(b) Four mangoes obtained from ocean while being churned; one given to Gaṇeśa, another to Muruka by Brahmā; one planted at Kāñcī and the juice of the fourth one used for *abhiṣeka* to Nāgaliṅga and the seed planted on the Northern bank.

(c) Greatness of Śiva's *nirmālya*, mode of using it; food is to be taken after offering it to Śiva (9th Chapter); greatness of Rudra (9th Chapter).

Tiru Nallūr Purāṇa[55] is in prose and is from the *Bhaviṣyottara purāṇa*. It is a Tamil version of the Sanskrit text. Pañcavarṇeśvara temple is located to the South of Sundara Perumāḷ Koil which is six miles from Kumbhakonam. Amar Nīti Nāyanār got salvation here. This place is well-known for Aṣṭabhujakālī. This place is also called South Kailāsa. Lord Śiva gave *darśan* of his feet to Appar. Hence, the practice of using *Śaṭhāri*. The Liṅga changes its colour five times in a day. Since Bhṛṅgī worshipped as a bee there, one finds marks of holes on the *Liṅga*.

Sri *Balākākṣetramāhātmya*,[56] describing the greatness of the birth-place of Nambi Āṅḍār Nambi, is from the *Skandamahāpurāṇa, Kṣetramāhātmyakhaṇḍa* and is in 31 *adhyayas*. In Tamil, this place is known as Tirunaraiyūr. Śiva incarnated Himself as Svayambhū, Vināyakamūrti, or Pollāppiḷḷaiyār Goddess Sundaryanāyakī and God as Balākīśa are the main deities. *Tirunāraiyūrpurāṇa* deals with Balākakṣetra.

The 28th and 29th chapters refer to the life of Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi and his devotion to Gaṇeśa.

Given below are the contents of this work.

Ch.1 - Sūta - said by Guha Balāka; by Bhurūsuṇḍi's curse. Nārāyaṇa Muni of Badari became Balāka - As directed by Īśāna both Baka and Mārkaṇḍeya meet.

Ch.2 - Vināyaka - Śiva worship leads to the release of curse.

Ch.3 - Vināyaka blesses Bakamuni for his penance. Mārkaṇḍeya's life story.

Ch.4 - Mārkaṇḍeya, Ākūpāra (Ulūkamuni), Kamaṭhamuni, King Indradyumna described life stories.

Ch.5 - Vināyaka and Śiva blessing Bakamuni and getting rid of the curse.

Ch.6 - Bhurūsuṇḍimuni's story. Lakṣābhiṣeka.

Ch.7 - Gaṇeśa's first *līlā* - *Aṇimādiṛddhipradāna* to Prince Guṇavān.

Ch.8 - *Siddhapuranirmāṇa* by Guṇavān; conquering of *pitṛvya* Durmukha.

Ch.9 - Balākeśa's first *līlā* - giving *divyāstras* to Guṇavān.

Ch.10 - Guṇavān conquering Durmukha again.

Ch.11 - Gaṇeśa with Siddhi, Buddhi, blesses Guṇavān and he performs Rājasūya etc.

Ch.12 - Gaṇeśa's second līlā - Maṅgala, a brahmin lady blessed with *Dīrghasaumaṅgalya*.

Ch.13 - Hemāṅga's story.

Ch.14 - Madālasā and Kuvalyāśva's story.

Ch.15 - The second *līla* of Śiva - Madālasā being revived after *Lakṣārcana.*

Ch.16 - The third *līlā* of Gaṇeśa - blessing Alarka, son of Madālasā, who meditated upon *Gaṇapatibījamantra.*

Ch.17 - Alarka ruling the kingdom - Indra and Keśava testing Alarka; the third *līlā* by Balākeśa.

Ch.18 - Mausala Yogi - instructed by Vasiṣṭha on *Mlechaka tantra*; blessed by Balākeśa - the fourth *līlā.*

Ch.19 - Mlecchādibāhya mārgasvarūpanirūpaṇa

Ch.20 - Gaṇesa's grace for four *yugas*; fourth *līla Kālīvarapradana* (blessing Kālī).

Ch.21 - Pāṇḍu getting rid of *pāṇḍu roga* - Balākeśa's fifth *līlā.*

Ch.22 - Gods and demons born as Pāṇḍavas.

Ch.23 - Nāgasundara, great grandson of Kṛṣṇa, blessed with all *Siddhis.* Ganeśa's fifth *līlā.*

Ch.24 - Droṇa and Aśvatthāma being blessed - Balākeśa's sixth *lila.*

Ch.25 - *Saṅkaṭaharaṇavrata* - Pāṇḍavas and Kṛṣṇa following it - Gaṇeśa's sixth *līlā.*

Ch.26 - *Pradoṣavrata* - Śivadāsa Śivācārya blessed with a son Candraśekhara - Balākeśa's seventh līlā.

Ch.27 - *Ādiśaiva śaiva prabhedakathana* (exposition of *Ādiśaiva* and other branches of *śaivism*)

Ch.28 - Candrasekharśivācārya being blessed. Gaṇeśa's seventh *līlā.*

Ch.29 - Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi being blessed. Gaṇeśa's eighth *līlā.*

Ch.30 - Description of evils of a Brahmin.

Ch.31 - *Yamanirayāthanāmanubhūya punar janmāntare vaiśyajanma.* Balākeśa blesses and gets the devotee rid of leprosy. Balākeśa's eighth *līlā. Gaurītapaścaraṇavarṇana, Rājapatimocana, Brahmaśāpamocana, Prayāṇapurīmāhātmya.*

Madhyārjunamāhātmya[57] from *Skandapurāna* gives an account of the holiness of *Tiruviḍaimarudūr* near Kumbhakonam. This is a very great shrine dedicated to Lord Mahāliṅga. Varaguṇa Pāṇḍya got rid of his *Brahmahattidoṣa*

here. A shrine dedicated to Mukāmbikā is situated here. Lord Śiva offers worship to Himself. The following verse given in this work needs to be noted.

advaitadāntam ahirāja kṛtopavītam ākhaṇḍalādi
vibudhair abhivanditāṅghrim āpanna
kalpatarum ādṛta hastirūpam ānanda
vardhanam ahaṁ śivayor namāmi.

Contents of Madhyārjuna Mahātmya

1. Guha telling the sages that *Madhyārjunakṣetra* is the best one for performing sacrifice.
2. A very holy shrine.
3. *Kṣetrasaṅgrahacaritravarṇana.*
4. *Brahmasvarūpavicāra.*
5. *Māyāsvarūpavicāra.*
6. *Vidyāsvarūpa.*
7. Parameśvara and Devī going in the sky and Śiva's narrating incidents in His life.
8. Īśvara - *Sarvakarmaphaladāna karma - Nirīśvaravādakhaṇḍana.*
9. *Īśvarapratykṣopāyapūrvakam Sarasvatī Svarūpakathanam.*
10. *Lakṣmīsvarūpa.*
11. *Umāsvarūpa.*
12. *Ṛṣikṛta adhvarapratipādana*
13. *Paradevatāyā āvirbhāva.*
14. *Ṛṣikanyakākṛtaśuśrūṣādinā prasannayā devyā saha tāsām saṁvāda. Devyā kṛta bhagavad dhyāna nirūpaṇa.*
15. *Devīkṛta īśvaradhyāna kāle vāyvagnijalabhūmyādiśuśrūṣā; Prasanneśvareṇa jyotirliṅga rūpeṇa āvirbhūya anugrahaṇa.*
16. *Īśvarayoḥ yogaviṣayaka parasparaparihāsoktikathana.*
17. *asmin jyotirliṅge ṛṣyādīnām viśeṣaprāptyartham parameśvaraḥ svayameva pūjām akarot.*
18-19. *Parameśvaraḥ ṛṣibhyaḥ tattvam upadideśa.*

20. *Ṛṣiprārthanayā viśvakarmanirmitālaye īśvaravasatiḥ.*
21. *asmin kṣetre romaśasya suvarṇa kākena samvāda kathana.*
22. *asmin kṣetrasya pūrvam campakavanam iti nāma; devyāḥ tapasthalam; idānīm arjuna vṛkṣa sambandhāt arjuna iti nāma abhūt iti; cola mahīpateḥ kṣapaṇakamata praveśāt tasya rājyabhraṁśaḥ; ājñā gaṇeśapūja, śivabhaktipracāraḥ, Veda śāstrapracāraśca, kṣapaṇakādi mata nirāsaśca ityādi varṇitam.*
23. *Ājñā gaṇeśa kṛta pūjāprakāra nirūpaṇa*
24. *Romaśa tapo varṇana.*
25. *Vīracola kṛta ālayanirmāṇapūrvaka utsava varṇana.*
26. *Mārkaṇḍeyacarita varṇana.*
27. *Sukīrti-agastya saṁvāda varṇana.*
28. *Sukīrti prītyartham agastya kṛta itihāsa kathana.*
29. *Asmin kṣetre kāśyapasya kṛṣṇas āniddhya varṇanam.*
30. *Sarveṣām tattvopadeśaḥ.*

Śaṅkara nārāyaṇasvāmi koyilpurāṇam[58] is by Sīvala Māra Pāṇḍyan and Puḷḷiyaṅguḍi Muttuvīrakkavirāyar. This *purāṇa* appears to be the combined effort of both these scholars. Since Sīvala pays homage to Aghoraśivācārya, he must have lived after 12th century, whereas Muttuvīrakkavirāyar is said to have lived probably 25 years prior to this century.

Muttuvīrar, who added six *sargas* says that this text was rendered into Tamil from the Sanskrit original that found in the *Bhaviṣyottarapurāṇa:*

> *kaṭakari yuritta kaṭavuṇmānmiyattaik kavin peṟu pāṭaikaṭkan (ṅ) aiyām, vaṭamoḻi tannir, pauṭiyottara mā-purāṇattin* [59] *vakuttatai yaṟivin, maṭamaiyēn ṟamiḻāṟ colluta deyva mānatikketir ciṟuvāykkaliṭaivaru punaloppennninum periyorikaḻntiṭār īcan kataiyināl.* (*Pāyiram* 13)

This work has been composed by Pāṇḍiyanār earlier stressing in each *sarga*, in keeping with the Sanskrit tradition, the importance of the shrine, the holy tank, the deity in that place; but no details of the river, country and city were given. These last three were written and added at the proper place by the poet Muttuvīrakkavirāyar. Thus this *purāṇa* contains the following sections :

1) *Kāppu* 2) *Pāyiram*
3) *Tirunadiccarukkam,* 4) *Tirunāṭṭuccarukkam*
5) *Tirunagaraccarukkam,* 6) *Purāṇavaralāru,*
7) *Talavišēṭam,* 8) *Tīrthavisetam,*
11) *Murtivisetaccarukkam* 10) *Sankaranarayana,*
14) *Uḵkiranvaḻipadu,* 12) *Vīrasēnan pinitirtal,*
13) *Cayantan vinaitīrtha,* 14) *Kānavanviḍupetra*
15) *Kanmaṭai.*

The work is written is a lucid style, in prose and verse, more or less like a kāvya. The description of Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa, fusion of Śiva and Viṣṇu attract the minds of scholars.

paccainiṟmorupuṟamum pavaḷa niṟamorupuṟamum, paṇiyum
toṇḍarkkiccai taru kauttuvamum eḻilruttirākkamum
pūṇḍinimaiyāga, naccaravu śaṅkha-padmar tavattinukku
veḷippaḍaiyāy nāma-rūpam accutanum aranum onrāñc
Śaṅkaranārāyaṇare yanādi mūrti (Tirunakaracarukkam 81)

Besides these the worship six times in a day, offerings, singing by devotees, dance performed by Devadāsis and worship by devotees wearing holy ashes are mentioned. Playing on the five kinds of instruments - percussion, wind, stringed, cymbals, and *midaru* is referred to . Thus, the āgamic mode of worship is described in detail.

Śri Śivaśaila māhātmya[60] (in 12 chapters) from *Śivarahasyakhaṇḍa* of the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* is on the sacredness of Śivaśaila, a city about three miles from Ālwārkuricci on the slopes of Kuttālam. This sacred place is on the banks of the Ghataṇā river. A *yātra* similar to the *pañcakrośayātra* undertaken near the Ganges, is referred at this holy place.

atrer anugrahārtham vai sānnidhyam kurute sadā
śivaśaileśvarasyeva tathā rāmeśvarasya ca
vahniśvarasya devasya pāpanāśeśvarasya ca
madhya deśo'yam atulaḥ pañcakrośa itīritaḥ.[61]

The Goddess here is Paramakalyāṇī and Śiva is called as Śivasailanātha. Nandikeśvara in this shrine has an important place. The God is facing Westwards and Nandi faces East.[62]

Śvetāraṇya Kṣetrapurāṇa [63] is by Vedavyāsa Maharṣi. This is ascribed to the *(Mahā) Skandapurāṇa, Śaṅkarasaṁhitā, Śivarahasya Khaṇḍa* and is in 51 chapters. This holy place is called *Tiruveṅgāḍu* in Tamil.

The main feature of this work is the revelation of mokṣa or salvation. The immortality will be conferred on a person irrespective of caste and creed. It is said in the work this holy place lies near Śīrkāḻi . Tirujñānasambandhar, Appar and Sundarar have sung in praise of the Lord here. There are three holy tanks inside the temple - the Agnitīrtha, the Sūryatīrtha and the Candratīrtha. On the Northern side of this city there is river Kāveri called as Maṇikarṇikā and on the Southern side the same river flows. The city has many names - Śvetāraṇya, Vilvāraṇya, Kālañjara, Mokṣadvāra, Mahāraṅga and Cidambara. This is said to be a *śaktipīṭha* according to *Padmapurāṇa*. Sage Mataṅga did penance here, begot Pārvatī as his daughter, whom he gave in marriage to Lord Śiva. The deities here are Śvetāraṇyeśvara, Naṭarāja, Aghoramūrti, Brahmavidyāmbikā, Bhadrakālī and Durgā.

Setumāhātmya[64] is from *Skandapurāṇa*. This work on the holy place Rāmeśvaram, is in 52 chapters and gives details about the greatness of *Setubandha*, several sacred *tīrthas*, the sanctity of performing the *mahālayaśrāddha* here, different types of hells and the greatness of Rāma.

There is a Tamil adaptation of this work, *Setu mānmiyam* (*Rāmeśvara mānmiya*) by Ārumuga Upādhyāya, an exponent of *Setupurāṇa*. The printed text in Tamil [65] is an abridgement of this work in prose. Though subject-wise division of the Tamil version does not follow the chapter classification of the Sanskrit version, the contents agree.

Pañcavaradakṣetramāhātmya[66] is from *Bhaviṣyottarapurāṇa*, *Kṣetrakhaṇḍa*, *Uparibhāga*. This *māhātmya* gives an account of the Pāṇḍavas getting mentally disoriented during their exile, because of the *Ābhicāraprayoga* of Duryodhana. Nārada, on seeing them in such a condition takes them to a place near Durgālaya, probably Durgātirtha or Tikkākulam and Brahmatīrtha. Viṣṇu appears from an anthill taking five forms as: Sundaravarada, Anantavarada, Kalyāṇavarada, Vaikuṇṭha Varada and Śrīraṅgavarada. During Vaiśākha *pūrṇimā* the Pāṇḍavas performed the worship of Sudarśanacakra after rebuilding the temple of Lord Varada and celebrated the festival.

The *Sthalamāhātmyas* at times called as *Sthalapurāṇas* are texts, composed with the specific purpose of describing the greatness of a holy shrine in its various aspects viz. the greatness of the city, the rivers and holy tanks connected with the shrine, the importance of the Gods and Goddesses there, the mode of worship and the philosophical and religious thoughts current there. These *māhātmyas* are said to be from various *purāṇas*, but not traceable in the respective *purāṇas*. A few of them are given here, with contents of the works wherever possible.

1. *Agnīśvaramāhātmya*[67] is from *Kṣetrakhaṇḍa*, *Uparibhāga* of *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa*. This is on the greatness of Kañjanūr, east of Madhyārjuna or Tiruviḍaimarudūr, Tanjore district, where the great Śaivite exponent Haradattācārya was born. Agni (Fire God) worshipped the Lord Agnīśvara. This place was also the birth place of Mānakkañjāra Nāyanār.

2. *Agnīśvaramāhātmya*[68] from the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*, *Uttarabhāga*, *Kṣetrakhaṇḍa* is on Tirukkāṭṭuppaḷḷi Siva shrine. This Lord here is also called as Agnīśvara.

3. *Aghanāśīśvaramāhātmya*[69] is on Avināśi near Coimbatore.

4. *Aruṇavana māhātmya* or *Dabhrabhaktacarita*[70] is on Tirucceṅkaṭṭāṅguḍi in Tanjore district. This work deals with the life history of Śiruttoṇḍar (*Dabhrabhakta*), the Pallava commander and it is assigned to *Skandapurāṇa*, *uparibhāga*. There is a *Tiruttāṇḍagam* of Tirunāvukkaraśar which refers to killing of Hiraṇya and burning of Cupid.[71]

5. *Arjunapuramāhātmya*[72] is assigned to the *uparibhāga* of *Agnipurāṇa* and it is on a shrine north of Vegavatī (Vaigai) in Madurai district.

6. On the holiness of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, there are six texts available in the name *Aruṇācalamāhātmya*. The source for them are: *Liṅgapurāṇa*.[73] *Vidyāsārakoṭirudrasaṁhitā*.[74] *Śivarahasya*.[75] *Śaivavidyāsārasaṁhitā*.[76] *Skanda*.[77]

(f) source not known.[78]

7. *Alakāpurīmāhātmya* or *Vijayapurīmahātmya*[79] is from *Bhaviṣyottarapurāṇa*. This is on Karantai or Karuttattāṅguḍi. The God here is *Vaśiṣṭheśvara*, the holy tree is Śamī and the tank Sudhāpuṣkariṇī.

Ch.70	-	Vijayapurīvarṇana.
Ch.71	-	Alakāpurīvarṇana.
Ch.72	-	Amṛtarakṣaṇa.
Ch.73	-	Yuddhārambha.
Ch.74	-	Daṇḍakāsuravadha.
Ch.75	-	Tañjāsuramokṣakathana.
Ch.76	-	Amṛtaliṅgamāhātmya.
Ch.77	-	Tīrthapraśaṁsā

8. *Aśmāntakavanamāhātmya*[80] is from *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (56th ch.) and it is on a shrine on the southern bank of the Kāveri in Tanjore district.

9. *Aśmāntakavanamāhātmya*[81] is another text from *Śaivapurāṇa.*

Ch.86 - Kumāratapaḥ preraṇa.
Ch.87 - Kumāratapaścaraṇa
Ch.88 - Sibicarita.

The deity here is Valmīkanātha, the tree *Aśmantaka* and the sacred tank Satyapuṣkariṇī.

10. *Ahīśakuṭimāhātmya*[82] from *Brahmakaivartapurāṇa* is on a sacred place in Tiruvārur. This is from *Nāgarakhanḍa* of *Brahmakaivartapurāṇa.* The deity is Valmīkanātha, the tank Kamalālaya.

11. *Ādikailāsamāhātmya*[83] is from *Sanatkumārasaṁhitā* of *Skandapurāṇa* and it is on the holiness of Avuḍayārkoil. This work refers to Yogāmbikā, the Goddess of this temple, the *Kurunda* tree, the holy tank, Agnitīrtha and Sūrāsuravadha.

12. *Iṣupātakṣetramāhātmya*[84] is from *Sahyādrikhaṇḍa* of *Skandapurāṇa.* The deity is Āpaduddhāraṇavaṭuka and the tank is Candratīrtha.

13. *Uttaravedīśvaramāhāṭmya*[85] is from *Brahmakaivarta purāṇa.*

14. *Uttaravedīśvaramāhātmya*[86] is from *Āgneyapurāṇa.*

15. *Uśīravanamāhātmya*[87] is from *Brahmakaivarta purāṇa.*

16. *Kandukāpurīmāhātmya*[88] is from *Skandapurāṇa* and is on Paṇḍaṇainaḷḷūr.

17. *Karañjavanamāhātmya*[89] is from *Śaivapurāṇa.* The deity is Śivalokanātha, the Goddess Sundaranāyakī and the sacred tanks are Vṛṣabhatīrtha and Airāvatatīrtha.

18. *Kaśyapāraṇyamāhātmya*[90] is from *Sanatkumārasaṁhitā* of *Skandapurāṇa.* This is on Ālaṅguḍi.

19. There are two texts on *Kumbhaghoṇamāhātmya*, one from *Āgneyapurāṇa* which deals with the temple of Śārṅgapāṇi [91] and the other from *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* [92] on Ādi Kumbheśvara and the tanks here are Hemapuṣkariṇī and Cakratīrtha. There is yet another text available in print and this is from *Bhaviṣyottara purāṇa.*[93]

20. *Ketakīvanamāhātmya* or *Punnāgavanamāhātmya*[94] is from Sanatkumārasaṁhitā of *Skandapurāṇa.*

21. *Gomuktīśvaramāhātmya* of which three texts from three different sources are found in manuscripts. One is from *Āgneyapurāṇa* [95] which refers to the story of the marriage of the Goddess and also to sage Sutapa and his son Pratardana. The second one is from *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa.*[96] There are references to Malayācala, the sacred tree *Tālavṛnta* and to sages Agastya and Vasiṣṭha. The titles of three chapters are Agastyasaṁvāda, Gāṇāpatyakathana and Purandaragāṇāpatyakathana. The third one is from *Tīrthakṣetramāhātmyasaṁhitā* of *Śivapurāṇa.*[97] The Goddess is Muktāmbā, the sacred tree pipal and the tank, Gomukti. This place is probably Gomatīsvara near Kuttālam, six miles from Māyavaram.

22. *Goṣṭhīpuramāhātmya*[98] is on Tirukkoṭṭiyūr. the text is from *Varāhapurāṇa* and there is another text from *Brahmāṇḍa purāṇa.*

23. *Gostanīamāhātmya*[99] from *Vāyupurāṇa* is on the holy tanks and rivers and Śaivite shrine near Śrīraṅgam.

24. *Ghoṇeśvaramāhātmya*[100] from *Śaivapurāṇa* is probably on Kumbhakoṇam. The last chapter deals with *Sudhākumbhamahimākathana.*

25. *Campakāraṇyamāhātmya*[101] from *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* is on Mannārguḍi.

26. *Citrakūṭamāhātmya*[102] from *Bhaviṣyottarapurāṇa* is on Govindarāja shrine at Cidambaram. There is a reference to it as Kṛṣṇakṣetra. The *vimāna* is called as *Sāttvikavimāna* and the place as Tillivana. God Govindarāja appeared here for blessing Kaṇva.

27. *Japyeśvaramāhātmya*[103] from *Uparibhāga* of *Kūrmapurāṇa* deals with the sanctity of Tiruvāḍi or Pañcanada.

28. *Jñānāṅkurapuramāhātmya*[104] is on Vedapuri. (Tiru-mettaliyurai)

29. *Tāmraparṇīmāhatmya*[105] is on the greatness of the river Tāmaraparṇī in Tinnevely district. Three different texts of this work, are found in manuscripts, all from *Śaivapurāṇa.* The text in the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library [106] has in 64 chapters and there are references to several Pāṇḍya rulers. The manuscripts in the Tanjore Library contain only eight chapters.

30. *Tejinīvanamāhātmya*[107] from *Ekādaśarudrasaṁhitā*, *Pūrvabhāga*, *Kṣetrakhaṇḍa* of *Śaivapurāṇa* is on the holiness of Tiruvīḻimaḻalai.

31. *Triśirogirimāhātmya*[108] is from the *Śaivapurāṇa*. The following verses found in the text are addressed to the presiding deities Mātṛbhūteśvara and Sugandhikuntalāmbā.

sura-dru mūla vāsinam sura praharṣadāyinam
suraṛṣi geyavaibhavam surapravekaśekharam
sura dviṣad vidāriṇam surāgra-janmasevitam
sugandhi kuntalāsakham sureśamiśam āśrayell
māṭrbhūteśvaro devo bhaktānām iṣṭa dāyakaḥ
sugandhi kuntalā nāthaḥ śaṅkaraḥ sūryaśekharaḥ

The following are the titles of the seven chapters.

Adhy.	I.	*Parvatotpatti.*
	II.	*Brahmapūjana.*
	III-IV.	*Agastyapūjā.*
	V.	*Nagaranirmāṇa*
	VI.	*Rāghavārjunapūjāvarṇana.*
	VII.	*Sāramahāmunisambhava.*

32. *Dakṣiṇakālipuramāhātmya*[109] from *Uttarabhāga* of the *Brahmakaivartapurāṇa* is on the Kālī temple at Śivagaṅgā. This work is in 32 *adhyāyas.*

33. On Tiruppullāṇi there are two texts - *Darbhaśayanamāhātmya*[110] and *Darbhāraṇyakṣetramāhātmya*[111] from the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa.*

34. *Nāgeśvaramāhātmya* probably on Tirunāgeśvaram, is from *Śivavaibhavakāṇḍa*[112] of the *Śaivapurāṇa.*

35. *Nāthankoilmāhātmya*[113] is on a temple near Karūr. The text is ascribed to the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa.*

36. *Nāgagirimāhātmya* [114] is on a shrine located at a distance of one *yojanā* to the east of *Saṅgameśvarakṣetra* at the junction of the two rivers Kāverī and Bhavānī (Tirucengōḍu). The gods in this shriṇe are Ardhanārīśvara and Subrahmaṇya. A king by name Simhavarma is referred to who attained salvation here. This *māhātmya* is ascribed to the *Skandapurāṇa.*

37. *Nāmāstikasthalamāhātmya*[115] is on a shrine between Māyāvaram and Tiruvārūr and this text is found in *Koṭirudrasaṁhitā* of *Śaivapurāṇa.*

svayambhuveśa liṅgākhya liṅgasya asya bhaviṣyati
liṅganāmnām ihāstikyan nāmāstikam idaṁ sthalam

38. *Pañcanadamāhātmya*[116] is on Tiruvaiyāru and is from *Brahmavaivartapurāṇa.*

39. *Paṭṭīśvaramāhātmya*[117] is on Paṭṭīśvara, a holy place. The daughter of Kāmadhenu worshipped here. Viśvāmitra got the title '*Brahmarṣi*' here. Rāma worshipped Śiva here for getting rid of *Chāyāhattidoṣa*. Reciting *Gāyātrī mantra* here brings much benefit.

gāyatrīm ca japitvā ca paṭṭīśasyapaścime tasmād
etad vanam kṣetram brahmaṇya jananam tvābhūt /

40. *Patnītīrthamāhātmya*[118] is from *Ādi Śaivapurāṇa, Pūrvabhāga.* It refers to the Colophon: *Kadambeśvaramāhātmya.* Probably same as Kadambanturai, near Kuḷittalai in Trichy. Lord Śiva presented Himself in the Kadamba tree to sage Kaṇva. The seven mothers got rid of the *Brahmahattidoṣa* and offered respects to Śiva.

41. *Paraśunṛttapuramāhātmya*[119] is from *Sanatkumārasaṁhitā* of the *Skanda.* In this holy place north of Tiruvaiyāru, Siva holding the *Maḻu* danced for Mārkaṇḍeya. The Liṅga here was brought from Brahmaloka and could not be removed. So the Creator worhshipped the Lord at this place. The god here is *Vajrastambheśvara.*

vande vajrasthūṇaliṅgam vande sundaranāyikām
vande sundaraherambaṁ vande paraśunarttanam (?)
ānandakandalamayīm amṛtāmśurekhām ābibhratam
suranadīm ca jaṭākalāpe
vamārdhato vapuṣi sundaranāyikāñca sthūṇésvaram
paraśunṛttapurīśam ll.

42. *Parāśarakṣetramāhātmya*[120] from *Bhaviṣyottarapurāṇa* is on the holy shrines around Tanjore. There is another text of it from *Skandapurāṇa*. The following chapters are on the Karan(un)tattāṇkuḍi.[121]

Chapters:

1 -5. *Amṛtasarovarṇana.*
6-7. *Koṇkaṇeśaprādurbhāva.*
8-9. *Caṇḍyupākhyāna.*
10. *Gajendratīrthamāhātmya.*

11. *Saptarṣitīrtha.*
12. *Puṇyabandhudharmabhūpasaṁvāda.*
13-16. *Gaṅgopākhyāna.*
17. *Yajñabhūpala ṛṣi saṁvāda.*
18. *Śivacoḷopākhyāna - Śarabhaprādubthāva.*
19. *Sarabha - sīvacola saṁvāda.*
20-21. *Annadāna māhātmya.*
22. *Bṛhadīśvara.*
23. *Maṇimuktānadī.*
24. *Astratīrtha.*
25. *Devyupākhyāna.*
26. *Grāmadevtā.*
27-28. *Kanyādana.*
29. *Kalivarṇana.*
30. *Sarvadharmanirṇaya.*

43. *Puṇḍarikapuramāhātmya*[122] from Ekādasárudrasaṁhita of *Śaivapurāṇa*. This is on the holiness of Cidambaram.

44. *Puṣpavanamāhātmya*[123] from *Bhaviṣyottarapurāṇa* is on Tiruppūnturutti near Tiruvaiyāru. This is one of the *Saptasthānakṣetrā*. This shrine is situated on the southern bank of Koḍamuruṭṭi. The God here is called as Puṣpavaneśvara. Nandi gave room by moving from his position to give *darśan* to Sambandha. Some of the chapters found in this manuscript are: *Sūryatīrthapraśaṁsā, Sthānapraśaṁsā, Munisamāgama, Pradakṣiṇaphalakathana, Śyenamokṣakathana.*

45. *Prabhākarakṣetramāhātmya*[124] from *Bhaviṣyottarapurāṇa* is said to be on *Peralīya (Vaidyanātha) māhātmya* or *Vaidyeśvaramāhātmya.*

This *māhātmya* contains the following eipsodes :

1) *Peralīyamāhātmya*
2) *Brahmasarotpatti*
3) *Nārāyaṇa Siddheśvaramāhātmya*
4) *Vaidyeśvaraliṅgotpatti*
5) *Kitavopākhyāna*
6) *Mahāvidyākulotpatti*
7) *Garbhiṇīniyamanakathā*
8) *Gabhiṇīdharmakathā*

9) *Amṛtakuṭīkabhṛnmāhātmya*
10) *Jayantivratakathā*
11) *Maṅgalakaiśikīmāhātmya*
12) *Vaṭukeśvarotpatti*
13) *Veṇumatīmāhātmya*

46. *Prayāṇapurīmāhātmya*[125] on Tirukkadambur in Tanjore district is from

1) *Skandapurāṇa (Purāṇesvaramāhātmyakathana)*
2) *Kadalīvana Kauśika-purīmāhātmyakathana*
3) *Prayāṇapuryākhyāna*
4) *Amṛtarakṣaṇakathana*
5) *Yuddhārambhakathana*
6) *Amṛtaliṅgamāhātmyakathana Prayāṇapurī-mymāhātkathana*

47. *Bakulāraṇyamāhātmya*[126] is from the *Koṭirudrasaṁhitā* of *Skandapurāṇa*. In the end of the manuscript the following information is found.

Tiruppaṇandāḷsīmai tirukkundavūr manam Niduma (ba) kularanniccur sthala purāṇam āru adhyāyam appar sundarar pādal padiya(ka)m.

There is a place Nīdūr near Māyavaram. It is believed that a crab worshipped the God Arut Samantar here which is indicated by a hole on the top of the *liṅga*. Indra made a *liṅga* with the sand of Kāverī and worshipped it.

48. *Bilvavanamāhātmya*[127] is from *Vāyavīyasaṁhitā* of *Śaivapurāṇa*. This is on a holy shrine, Tiruppuvanam in Madura district. The deities here are Someśvara and Ānandavallī and the holy tank is Somatīrtha.

49. *Bilvāraṇyamāhātmya*[128] is from *Skandapurāṇa*.

50. *Bṛhat-tīrthamāhātmya*[129] from *Bhaviṣyottarapurāṇa* is on the sacredness of Āvuḍaiyārkoil.

mahādevam vande śivapuramahīvāsarasikam
mahadevyā yuktam dvijagaṇamanastāpaharaṇam
mahākundādha sthsthiān maṇivacana vidyā vitaraṇam
mahākālam māyāhayavijita paṇḍyeśvaran dhanam.

In this verse the God blessing Maṇivācaka (Māṇivācaka, (Māṇikkavācaka) under the Kunda (*Kurunda*) tree and he purchasing horses with the money of the king etc., are referred to.

51. *Brahmapuramāhātmya*[130] from *Bhaviṣyottarapurāṇa* is on Śīrkāḷi. This is the birth place of Tirujñānasambandhar. Brahmā offered his worhsip here. During deluge, this place appeared like a boat hence this place is called *Tōṇipura*.

52. *Bhaktavatsalamāhātmya* or *Kṛṣṇamaṅgala* or *Kṛṣṇakṣetra* [131] from *Padmapurāṇa* is on Tirukkaṇṇamaṅgai near Tiruvārūr. Another text said to be from *Skandapurāṇa*[132] is also available.

53. *Mayūrasthalamāhātmya*[133] from *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* is on the well-known holy place Māyāvaram.

54. *Mihireśvarasthalamāhātmya*,[134] said to be a holy place near Māyāvaram, is from *Uparibhāga*, *Kṣetrakhaṇḍa*, *Koṭirudrasaṁhitā* of *Śivamahāpurāṇa*. This work refers to *Campakāraṇya*, the holy tanks Vahni, Soma and the festival on the *Rathasaptami* day and the deities Kūpeśa and Mihireśa.

55. *Vaṭāraṇyakṣetramāhātmya*[135] is from *Āgneyapurāṇa*. This is on Tiruvālaṅgāḍu, a very famous shrine in which Śiva performed dance with Kāḷi. The Lord is called as Vaṭāraṇyeśvara, the Goddess Bhramarālakāmbā and the holy tank Putravāpi. The great Śaivite lady saint Kāraikkal Ammaiyār is seated at the feet of Lord Naṭarāja.

56. *Vāñceśvaramāhātmya*[136] from *Sanatkumārasaṁhita* of *Skandapurāṇa* is on the greatness of Śrī Vāñciyam. The Lord here is Vāñcinātha. There is a separate temple for Yama. Lord Viṣṇu regained the affection of Lakṣmi after performing penance here.

57. *Vaidyanāthasthalamāhātmya*[137] from *Koṭirudrasaṁhitā* of *Śaivapurāṇa* is on Vaithīśvaran Koil. This is a well-known shrine also known as Jaṭāyunagari. The Goddess Bālāmbikā is praised beautifully in a song by Muttusvāmi Dīkṣitar. Lord Subrahmaṇya is well-known as Muttukumārasvāmi and a very appealing song on him is by Vaidyanātha Śiva. This gives the name of the tank here as Siddhasaras and Lord Kanyakā Gaṇeśa.

58. *Śaraṇyapuramāhātmya*[138] is from *Śivapurāṇa*, *Uparibhāga*. There is a reference to Navasiddhas in a verse of the manuscript.

purā śaraṇyanagaram nava siddhā yayuḥ sthitam /
sarvasthaleṣu sañcārya niścityedam paraṁ sthalam //
bhoganāthaśca bhaktaśca murukaścāpi śaraṇyaḥ

nava siddhā nava vidhaiḥ puṣpair abhyarcya ca anvaham cakruh saraṇyanagare vāsaḥ ..... cūlikā patim vaiśākha māse rajendro viśakhākhyo rathotsavam sarvam kārayāmāsa vidhinā rāṣṭramaṅgalam

59. *Śrīraṅgamāhātmya* from *Garuḍapurāṇa*[139] and another text from *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*[140] are on the holiest shrine Śriraṅgam, well-known as Koil in the Vaiṣṇava *sampradāya.*

60. *Heraṇḍakānanamāhātmya* [141] from *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* deals with the holiness of Kōṭṭaiyūr near Kumbhakonam. The Lord is known as Kōṭīśvara, Sivakkoḷundu Deśikar, author of many Tamil *Sthalamāhātmyas* was born here. This place is so sacred that all the sins committed anywhere perish here.

Notes and References

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4. M.Arunachalam, *Hist.* of *Tamil Lit.* 9th Cent. i.pp.10; 31 ff.
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6. Tiruvācakam (Śivapurāṇa - 95 lines. Urai by Navanita Kṛṣṇa Bhāratiyār. Padma Patippakam, Nellipalai, Ceylon, 1954.
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21. MD.12950. MT.566.
22. IO.6742.
23. Adyar I. p.254a
24. See VR.*SV.* Intro.p.19; Cf: TD. 7614-18.
25. *Centamiḻ IV.* pp.369-7. See also *Tamil Encyclopaedia*, (*Kalaikkalañciyam*) VII. pp.
26. In 2 Parts, Vidyarathna Press, Kusappettai, Madras, 1913.
27. See *Tamil Encycl.*VII, for further details.
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90. TD. 10185

91. TD.10624-25 (adhys. 77-106)

92. TD.10475-77

93. Sri Vidya Press, Kumbhakonam, 1895.

94. TD.10190

95. TD.9995

96. TD.10478.

97. TD.9701.

98. (1) In Telugu script, Ponnur, Guntur Dt. (2) In Grantha script on Tirukkoṣṭiyūr 6 adhys. of which four are from the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa.*

99. IO. 3600. Mack.76.

100. TD.9702.

101. TD.10479 (Chs. 61-68). The last chapter is *Haridrānadī māghasnānavarṇana.*

102. TD. 10026-27 (d.1600 A.D.)

103. 10436-39 (adhys 1 - 12) (*nandīśvarotpattikathanam nāma tricatvārimśo adhyāyah*)

104. TD.10043.

105. MD 2430 TD.9705-06.

106. MD 2430.

107. TD.9707-08. Viṣṇupuram, Madras, 1913.

108. TD.9710 - 11.

109. IO.3420. 6641. Mack 73.

110. Oppert I. 5853.

111. S.A. Paris. 46.

112. TD. 9709.

113. TD.10029.

114. MT.6294.

115. TD.9712.

116. TD.10082-93.

117. TD.10044-45 (diff.?)

118. TD.9713.

119. TD.10200.

120. TD.10046-47.

121. TD.10357-59.

122. TD.9714-19 MD.248.

123. TD. 10048-49. 10094 (from *Brahmakaivarta*) (*Rahasyacidambaropadeśa Sundaratatillatāmbikā and Puspavanasvāmi*).

124. TD.10030-31.

125. MT.1442 (*Kadalivanakarsikāpurīmāhātmya*).

126. TD.10256.

127. TD.9720-21. 9722 (?)

128. TD.10368-70.

129. TD.10032-34.

130. TD. 10051.

131. Mysore N.D.VI.18553. 18554 (both inc.). Extr.p.299 TD.9646-47. (11- 18 adhys).

132. Mysore N.D.VI. 18555. Extr.pp.299-300.

133. TD.10508-09.

134. TD.9723.

135. TD.10022.

136. TD.10175

137. TD.9727-32.

138. TD.9734 (inc.)

139. TD.10463-67.

140. Ibid. 10528-37. with Tamil interpretation by P.Krishnayyangar, Trichy.

141. TD.10546.

CHAPTER XVI

MISCELLANEOUS TOPICS

Music

The Contribution of Tamil Nādu to music literature both in Sanskrit and Tamil was very rich. Either as a pastime or for spreading *Bhakti*, music became a perfect, cherished medium. The *Cilappatikāram* contains lot of information on dance and music. In *Perunkatai* the hero Udayana's lute (*yāḻ*) is called as *Koṭapati* and is referred to as *teyvap pēriyāḻ*. (I.48; l04) and *nalyāḻ*. In the *Cīvaka Cintāmaṇi*[1] there is a description of the lute (*yāḻ*) contest where *Cīvaka* finds out the defects in that instrument and finally plays on a *yāḻ* which is perfect. Besides several other musical instruments are referred to in the five major poems.

The Āḻvārs and the Nāyanmārs, who lived in the 7th century, were instrumental in spreading the *Bhakti* movement through their psalms viz: *Tēvaram*, *Tiruvācakam*, *Nālāyira Divyaprabandham* and such other devotional works. These psalms of Nāyanmārs were set to different *paṇs* (melodies) and also rhythm. Thus these saint-singers contributed to the development of music.

The practice of singing the Vedas has been referred to in the Saṅgam literature. Sundarar, one of the Nāyanmārs[2] refers to this:

vēta kīṭaṅkal pāṭaluṟa (22.7) and the god as *veda kītanai* (68.2)

In *Tiruviḷaiyāṭalpurāṇa* the following verse refers to the singing of the Veda which acts as a medicine.

maruntana ceyyuḷ ōcai icaiyocai vaḷāmal yārkkum
viruntenc ceviyin māṇṭap pāṭinar vēta kītam
(viṟaku viṛṛa:32 vv.; 8-4)

In these psalms of Nāyanmārs several musical instruments as flute, lute (*yāḻ*), *tuṭi*, *muḻava*, *callari* and others are referred.[3] Thus music as a pastime or as a medium for obtaining the grace of God was prevalent since early times in Tamil Nadu.

The Pallava ruler Mahendravarma I had several titles as *Māmalla, Mattavilāsa, Cettakāri, Vicitra* Citta and *Saṅkīrṇajāti.* This *biruda* indicates probably that the king was the inventor of a mode of keeping musical time (*tāla*) which was called or which he named as *Saṅkīrṇajāti.*[4]

In the Māmandūr inscription[5] the King is referred to thus:

" ..... kalpāt pravibhajya ..... "/
vṛttim dakṣiṇa - citrākhyam (kāra) yitvā yathāvidhi //

This refers to three distinct styles or forms of instrumentation in music. They are *dakṣiṇa, cittra* and *vārttika*[6].

Another important inscription of the time of this royal author is the one at Kuḍmiyamalai (Pudukkottai state)[7] which contains exercises in music to be practised by the beginners.[8]

Ahobila, a Sanskrit scholar, belonging to Tamil Nadu(?) is said to have written a musical treatise called *Saṅgīta Candra.*[9]

Gopālanāyak, who is considered as an authority on music flourished between C.1205-1314 A.D. He is said to have had discussion with Amir Kusru, a poet and musician. Later on, another great scholar-musician Veṅkaṭamakhin, who discusses the four styles of singing in his *Caturdaṇḍiprakāśikā,*[10] refers to Gopālanāyak. Kallinātha in his commentary on the *Saṅgītaratnākara*[11] refers to Gopālanāyaka's musical treatise, *Rāgakadamba.*[12]

Under the Nāyak and Maratha rulers of Tanjore, much fillip was given to the development of music and encouragement to musicians.These musicians supported by the kings contributed richly to the field of literature on music. The Kings themselves were well-versed in the theory and practice of music.

King Raghunātha Nāyak (1600-34 A.D.) was a great patron of music and supported several *Vāggeyakāras.* In his court, '*Vijaya Vilāsa*', there were pandits, musicians, composers and exponents of music.[13] Govinda Dīkṣita, his preceptor, says about his patron as an inventor of the *rāgās* such as *Jayantasenā* and *tālās* like *Rāmānanda.*[14]

jayantasenādi rāgān rāmānandādi tālān racayan viśeṣān //

His patron credited with the authorship of a musical treatise, *Saṅgītasudhā.*[15] But this was composed by his preceptor Govinda Dīkṣita.

Govinda Dīkṣita,[16] known as *Advaita Vidyācārya*, because of his erudition in this system of philosophy, was a minister of Cevvappa Nāyak (1549 - 72

A.D.), Acyuta (1579-1614 A.D.), and Raghunātha Nāyak (1614 - 33 A.D.). He belonged to Vasiṣṭha gotra and had two sons Yajñanārāyaṇa and Veṅkaṭamakhin, who were also great scholars and authors. Dīkṣita was the maternal uncle of Kuṭṭikavi *alias* Vāñceśvara.

Govinda Dīkṣita wrote the musical treatise *Saṅgītasudhā*, but ascribed it to his patron Raghunātha, since they both were more or less identical in their outlook. This work is in seven chapters. But only chapters 1-4, dealing with *svara*, *rāga*, *prakīrṇaka* and *prabandha* are available. The remaining chapters on *tāla*, *vādya*, and *nartana* are not traceable now. *Sāhityasudhā*[17] of his is on the history of Acyutappa and Raghunātha.

Veṅkaṭamakhin, son of Govinda Dīkṣita, was the propounder and expounder of the 72- *melakartās.*[18] His treatise on music *Caturdaṇḍi prakāśikā*,[19] is a landmark in the field of music literature. This work treats four important topics in music *ālapa*, *ṭhāya*, *gīta* and *prabandha*. Veṅkaṭamakhin also was patronised by Vijaya Rāghava Nāyak of Tanjore. He was the teacher of Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita and he had performed the *Vājapeya* sacrifice.

Sāhaji (1684 - 1711 A.D.)[20] was also well versed in the fine arts especially music. He knew several languages. He has composed songs and *padas* in his mother tongue, Marathi as well as a few songs in Sanskrit. These songs are in praise of Tyāgeśa, Bṛhadīśvara of Tanjore, Ānandavallī, Goddess at Tanjore, Pañcanadīśa of Tiruvaiyāru and Dharmasamvardhinī.

The following song in the Āhiri rāga is on the consort of Lord Tyāgarāja.

Pallavi:-

ambujākṣi santatam ava amṛtakaṭākṣi /
śambarāri jīvanadāyini sadayā rājarājeśvari //

The following song in *Dhanyāśi rāga* extols Pañcanadīśa.

Pallavi:-

bhāvaye pañcanadiśam bhavabhayanāśam /
devam dharmasamvardhanīśam dīnasuratarum viśveśam //

Caraṇa (3)

pāṇḍurā bhāsurāṅgam pāpatimira pataṅgam
caṇḍa vikrama - śāhendra svānta sitābja bhṛṅgam
gaṅgājaṭā maṇḍala śubhottamāṅgam sahyasutā-
kāṇḍa krīḍatvihaṅgam santata mṛkaṇḍu tanaya
mārkaṇḍeya bhayabhaṅgam pāṇḍava priya tyāga japyeśaliṅgam [21]

Apart from these songs of Śāhaji, *Candraśekkharavilāsanāṭaka abhinayarūpaka*[22] of his is noteworthy. The theme is based upon the popular story of Śiva drinking poison and adorning His head with the crescent moon. This is of the *yakṣagāna* type, using *darus*, *padas*, and *cūrṇikas*. This *nāṭaka* was composed in 1701 AD.

The other work of his is an opera, *Pañcabhāṣāvilāsa*[23] in five languages. This opera proves the king's erudition in five languages. In this opera there are four *darus* in Tamil and *abhinayapadas*.

King Tulajā or Tukkoji, the Maratha ruler, is well known for his treatise on music, *Saṅgitasārāmṛta*.[24] His musical attainments are praised in several *padas*, *darus*, *svarajatis* and *padyas*.[25] *Rāja rañjana vidyāvilāsanāṭka*[26] by him is an allegorical play based on *advaita* philosophy. This musical play abounds in beautiful *darus*, *dvipadas* etc. An erudite scholar in Sanskrit, Telugu and Marathi, King Tulajā has composed *padas* in three languages.[27]

Vāsudevakavi[28] was a Court poet of King Śāhaji. He has composed *padas* and songs in Tamil, Telugu, Sanskrit and *Maṇipravāla*. He praises his patron Śāhaji's musical accomplishments thus: *Saṅgitaśāstravyāpṛta*, *Saṅgitarasalola* and *Saṅgītalola*. No other detail about this author is available excepting that he was patronised by Śāhaji. (17th Century). The Sanskrit compositions[29] of his exhibit a very good style and reveal the author's scholarship. They bear the *mudrā* '*Vāsudevakavinuta*'. He is also the author of a small Sanskrit work called *Dautyapañcaka*.[30] This work portraying *śṛṅgāra rasa*, depicts the love of a courtesan for King Śāhaji.

This lady-in-love sends a message to the King, through a parrot, a cloud, a bee, a swan and a lady- friend. There are five *darus* in this work and each is preceded by a crisp *śloka* which forms the prelude for the songs. The first verse is dedicated to King Śāhaji.

śrī śāharājam - abhivīkṣya vimohitāyāḥ taddautyapañcakam aham
sarasīruhākṣyāḥ /
śri vāsudeva kavir adya vadāmi vāṇīm padāmbujāta - yugalam
śirasā dadānaḥ //

The following song gives an idea of the poet's skill in painting the emotion. The lady attracted by the charm of the King sends the parrot, which she has brought up with great care, giving good food. The lady feels the pain all the more when the bird forgetting the mission stays with the King himself.

viraham mama abhidhāya līlāśuka tvam vīram
śāhendram ānaya ittham tayā samabhivarṇya
śuko visṛṣṭaḥ śrī śāharāja savidham pratipadya
śīghramtad datta divyaphala toṣita cittavṛttiḥ
tatraiva sañcarati - vismṛta dūta kṛtyaḥ

Thus this courtesan faces the problem of not getting her lover's favour; because all the messengers sent by her do not return, but happily stay in sāharāja's court: the cloud, because of the shower of Charity by the King, the bee attracted by the beautiful flowers in the ruler's garden and the royal female swan by sporting in the garden in the palace.

Several Kāvyas imitating the *Aṣṭapadi* of Jayadeva or of Yakṣagāna type were composed during the Maratha rule at Tanjore. Of these *Sāhavilāsagīta* is by Ḍhuṇḍhirāja[31]. He was called as Abhinava Jayadeva because of this kāvya, which was an imitation of *Aṣṭapadi*. He was a court poet of King Śāhaji and was his *Paurāṇika*.

Sadāśiva Dīkṣita, pupil of Cokkanāthamakhin (17th cent. A.D.) was a staunch Śaivite. *Gītasundara*[32] written by him is an imitation of *Gītagovinda* and has for its theme the 64 *līlas* of Lord Śiva. There are in all 24 *aṣṭapadis* in this *kāvya*.

The following verse shows the influence of Jayadeva's lyrical poem:

indrāgham harate gajendram avate vanyam puram kurvate
kanyām prārthayate sumīna nayanā pāṇigraham tanvate /
sānandam naṭate patañjalikṛte kuṇḍodara kṣutkṛte
gartān annamayān nadīm ca sṛjate śarvāya tubhyam namaḥ //[33]

Kṛṣṇalīlātaraṅgiṇi [33] of Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha is a musical composition based on the model of Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda* which contains within it the " tradition of devotion, music and dance". This work is in 12 cantos. The author flourished during the 17th century. The songs in this lyrical kāvya are popularly known as *taraṅgas* and are sung both in concerts and *Bhajans*. The *mudrā* of the songs are '*Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha*'[35].

Following closely the *Bhāgavata* this work presents the story from Kṛṣṇa's childhood sports upto his marriage. There are narrative verses in various metres, *darus*, prose passages, *sollukkaṭṭus* and songs of varying length.

Sadāśiva Brahmendra[36] (1684-1712 A.D.) was an *avadhūta* and follower of *Advaita* system. He was patronised by the ruler of Pudukkottai. He was a contemporary of Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita and Ayyāvāḷ or Śrīdhara Veṅkaṭeśa.

Sadāśiva Brahmendra composed several songs in Sanskrit. He was a *'Jīvan mukta'* and hence a few of his songs are full of philosophical concepts embedded in *'sthiratā na hine'* or *'khelati brahmāṇḍe'*[37] His songs on Kṛṣṇa and Rāma show his devotion to these Gods. One of his songs is on the river Ganges: *Jaya tuṅga taraṅge gaṅge.* These songs are also sung in concerts or as *Bhajans.* He uses the mudrā '*Paramahaṁsa*'.

Two more works in this field are *Saṅgrahacūḍāmaṇi*[38] of Govinda and Śrīmuṣṇam Appalācārya's *Saṅgītasaṅgraha Cintāmaṇi.*[39]

Pāraśavotpatti or *Pañcamukha vādyalakṣaṇa*[40] gives a description of the musical instrument *Pañcamukhavādya.* This instrument was played on the occasion of Śiva's dance. This treatise is in Sanskrit and deals with the origin of *Pañcamukhavādya* in 29 verses. From the five faces of Sadāśiva, the Śakala form of Parameśvara, this instrument was originated. The five *tālas* viz. *Nāgabandha, Svastika, Dalaghna, Śuddha* and *Sammakhalī* came forth from the five faces of Śiva - Sadyojāta, Vāmadeva, Aghora, Tatpuruṣa and Īśāna. Thus this instrument with five mouths, represents the five faces of Śiva and is pleasing to God.

In Tamil literature there is a reference to *Kudamulā*, which was made of *Kaṅǰa* metal and had a single mouth covered with deer's skin. In *Kallāḍam*, referęnce is made in the following line to Lord Naṭarāja performing dance to the accompaniment of *Pañcamukhavādya*:

mukanaintu maṇanta muḻavan tuvaikka

King Śāhaji refers to this instrument thus :

pañcamukhodbhava pañcamukhapriya pañcatāla prabandha.

Those who played on this instrument are known as *muṭṭukkāras.* This Pañcamukhavādya is played in the temples at Tiruvārūr, Tiruppuṅgūr and Tirutturaippūṇḍi by specialists.[41]

Śri Rāmābhyudaya,[42] whose author is not known, is a lyrical *kāvya*, modelled on Śrī *Kṛṣṇalīlātaraṅgiṇi* of Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha. This musical *kāvya* contains a *śloka* followed by a *kīrtana* in which there is a *Pallavi* and *Caraṇas* numbering 4 to 8. The whole poem is divided into three *paṭalas.*

The author says thus about his work:

śrī rāmābhyudaya stutimayaḥ grantho mayā cocyate
devānām ca mahotsaveṣu ca nṛṇām jātādi karmotsave /
dhīrāṇām ca sabhāsthalīṣu satām tat tat svasaṅgocitam
gātum tat prathitam suyogam·abhavad strīṇām ca puṁsām api //

The work is of considerable merit. cf. the following verse:

mūrttimān iva vinunnacittajaḥ kīrttimān akhila mitra nandanaḥ /
nītimān ati vicakṣaṇonmanā yaḥ pumān tam aniśam bhajāmyham//

At the end of the 19th set of *ślokas* and *kīrtana* of the second *paṭala*, it is given that *'Halantanāmāvali samāptā* and one of the introductory *ślokas* adds *Śrī Rāmamudrayā sākam nāma saṅkirtanāvalim*. So the main theme of this work is *Nāmāvali* of Rāma.

The *mudrācaraṇa* of the *kīrtana* does not give the name of the author, but it contains *Śri Rāmamudrā*.

śrī Ramamudrayā sākām nāma saṅkīrtanāvalim
yathā-mati pravakṣye aham santas śṛṇvantu sādaram

Of the three *paṭalas* the first is *incomplete*.

Śāharājāṣṭapadi[43] is a musical kāvya by Śrinivāsa. *Dhruvacarita*[44] by Rāmasvāmi and *Dhīraśabaracarita*[45] on the life of Kaṇṇappa are also musical *kāvyas*.

Alaṅkāra (Poetics)

Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa*[46] is the earliest available text on Sanskrit poetics written in Tamil Nadu. This is an important treatise and deals with the subject of poetics in a clear and lucid mannar. Both the figures of speech based on sound (*śabda*) and sense (*artha*) are clearly defined. The constituent elements of a *Mahākāvya*, the different types of Prākṛts, the divisions of *Kāvya*, the *guṇas* that go to embellish a *kāvya* are dealt with in detail. This work on Sanskrit poetics was so popular that it was adapted into Tamil. It was known as *Taṇṭi - alaṅkāram*,[47] the probable date of this work being 12th century A.D. Earlier to this a Sinhalese literal translation was done. This Sinhalese work known as *Siyabas - lakara*[48] *(sīyabhāṣālaṅkāra)* was composed by King Sīlameghasena (c.830-51) A Tibetan version[49] with Mangolian commentary is also available.

Bhāvaprakāśa[50] of Sāradātanaya is another important work in this field. The author belonged to Merūttara which is identified with Uttaramerūr near Kāñcī.[51]

Appayya Dīkṣita and his family too had a considerable share towards the contribution to the science of poetics. His *Vṛttvārttika*[52] is on the power of words, *Abhidhā*, *Lakṣaṇā* and *Vyañjanā*. Only the first two sections are available. On the technical terms of dramaturgy he wrote *Lakṣaṇa ratnāvali*.[53] *Kuvalayānanda*

is of his standard treatise on *alaṅkāras* in Sanskrit. Based on Jayadeva's *Candrāloka* this work gives the definition of and examples for more than 215 *arthālaṅkaras*. The illustrative verses are taken from several *kāvyas* as also from treatises on Sanskrit poetics. *Citramīmāṁsā*[54] of Appayya Dīkṣita is a major work in the field of Sanskrit poetics. This work though unfinished, discusses *Upamālaṅkāra* in detail. Then follow several figures of speech like *upameyopamā, smaraṇa, bhrānti* and others. According to him the *Upamālaṅkāra*, like a beautiful *danseuse* moves about on the stage of the science of poetics.[55]

Jagannātha Paṇḍita, the arch-rival of Appayya wrote *Citramīmāmsākhaṇḍana*[56] to which Atirātrayajvan of Dīkṣita family gave a suitable reply in his *Citramimāmsā doṣadhikkāra*,[57] defending Dikṣita's views. Appayya Dīkṣita II, brother of Nīlakaṇtha Dīksita, is the author of *Alaṅkāra tilaka*[58] which is referred to in *Vasumatīcitrasenīya* of Appayya III.

Besides these there were also several other authors who enriched substantially this field of Sanskrit Literature. Narasiṁha patronised by King Serfoji of Tanjore (1684-1710 A.D) wrote *Guṇaratnākara*[59] which deals with one hundred figures of speech with illustrative verses in praise of his patron.

alaṅkṛtīnām kavisārvabhaumaiḥ kṛtam purā lakṣaṇapadyajātam /
saṅkīrtya vakṣyāmyaham atra lakṣyam śri coḷabhūmīśa
guṇānubaddham

King Raghunātha Nāyak of Tanjore was a patron of scholars. During his time Yajñanārāyaṇa wrote *Alaṅkāraratnākara*[60] and Kṛṣṇa Dīkṣita, *Raghunāthabhūpāliya*.[61]

Sudhīndrayogin, a Madhva teacher, wrote *Alaṅkāranikaṣa* with illustrative verses in praise of another pontiff Sudhīndra.[62] The author hailed from Tanjore. Sumatīndra who also hailed from Tanjore wrote the commentary *Madhudhārā*[63] on *Alaṅkāramañjari* of Sudhīndra. This work contains verses on Sudhīndra and Yogindra.

Rājacūḍāmaṇi Dīkṣita, descendemt of Ratnakheṭa Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita, a well-known figure in the field of Sanskrit Literature, wrote *Kāvyadarpaṇa*[64] based upon *Kāvyaprakāśa* of Mammaṭa and *Alaṁkāracūḍāmaṇi* is referred in his *Kāvyadarpaṇa*.

Dāji, the viceroy of Śāhaji, belonged to Śāṇḍilya gotra. He wrote *Sāhityamañjūṣā*,[65] on the science of poetics in 455 verses. This was composed in 1825 A.D.

Kalyāṇa Subrahmaṇya, grandson of Gopāla wrote *Alaṅkāra Kaustubha.*[66]

Sāhityasūkṣmasaraṇi [67] in seven *Taraṅgas* is by Śrinivāsa, son of Lakṣmī and Veṅkaṭeśa.

Kacchapeśvara Dīkṣita, son of Vāsudeva Yajvan of Brahmadeśa in North Arcot district wrote *Rāmacandrayaśobhūṣaṇa*[68] on poetics in three *paricchedas* eulogising Bommarāja, Zamindar of Kārveṭnagar.

Kṛṣṇasudhi of Uttaramerūr was the son of Sivarāmasūri and grandson of Upadraṣṭṛ Paṇḍitarāja Nārāyaṇa Śāstrin. He was patronised by Ravivarma, Raja of Kolattanāḍ. He wrote *Kāvyakalānidhi*[69] in ten *kusumas* with illustrative verses in praise of his patron.

Gaṅgādhara Adhvarin who hailed from Tiruvālaṅgāḍu (Chinglepet dt.) wrote a commentary on *Kuvalayānanda*[70]. On Bhānudatta's *Rasamañjarī* Dattātreya wrote a commentary.[71] He quotes Atirātrayajvan. *Śāradaśarvarī* [72] by Virūpākṣa is a commentary on *Candrāloka.*

Subhāṣitas

Under this branch of literature a few works (*kāvyas*) were composed by poets belonging to Tamil Nadu and also by kings. Of these *Rājadharmasārasaṅgraha*[73] by Tulajā is in two chapters and deals with the code of conduct for kings and the work is based on the *Rājadharma* section of the *Mahābhārata.*

Ekoji II, who belonged to the princely clan and who was the son of Tulajā, was the author of *Uttamasevakanirūpaṇa* forming part of *Prapañcāmṛtasāra.*[74] This *kāvya* describes the qualities of a good servant.

Two verses are given here:

parastrīsaṅgarahitaḥ sarvatra ativarjitaḥ /
svapne api ca ahitam karma svāminastu na vetti yaḥ //22
svāminaḥ gṛhakṛtyam yaḥ svakīya gṛhakṛtyavat /
nityam paśyati medhāvi vijñeyaḥ sa tu cottamaḥ // 50

Nīlakaṇṭhakavi, grandson of Vāñceśvara and son of Śukla Janārdana composed in 1765 A.D. *Śṛṅgāraśataka* in 110 verses.[75]

Naroji Paṇḍita (Nārāyaṇa) was the son of Viśvanātha and Bhavānī. He was the author of *Śūktimālikā.*[76] This contains the following sections: *Namaskāra, Śiva, Devī, Viṣṇu, Daiva, Nīti, Sajjana, Durjana, Sāmānya, Anyokti* and *Kathā;*

nārikela phalam dṛṣṭvā hitvā śālivanam śukaḥ./
prayāto ca phalam prāptaḥ cañcur yātā ca cūrṇatām // (104).
haṁsā dūrataram vasanti kuhacit deśe mṛṇālāśanāḥ /
cāturyam sugatatvamatra sujanā ghuṣyanti teṣām sadā //
kākāḥ puṣṭatamāścaranti balibhiḥ pratyaṅgaṇam rāviṇaḥ /
teṣām durguṇaśālinām guṇakathā kā vā janaiḥ kathyatām // (180)

Botany

Kautukacintāmaṇi[77] of unknown authorship gives details about the different types of manures for plants.

Culinary Art

Raghunātha Navahasta, who migrated to Tanjore during the 17th cent. was patronised by Dīpāmbikā. He wrote several works in Marathi. *Bhojanakutūhala*[77 (a)] in Sanskrit deals with preparation of various dishes.

Grammar: Uṇādi

In Tamil Nadu several texts on Uṇādi were written. Among these, *Uṇādikośa* by Vedānti Mahādeva[78] who lived during 17th cent. A.D. is an important work.

Uṇādinighaṇṭu[79] in 720 verses, grammar-cum-lexicon was by Veṅkaṭeśvara,[80] son of Dakṣiṇāmūrti of Kauṇḍinya gotra. He was the disciple of Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita and was patronïsed by King Śāhaji.

Kamalanayana, a commentator on the *Uṇādi*, is quoted by Devarāja in his commentary on the Nighaṇṭu.[81]

On *Uṇādisūtras* (Pāṇinīya) in 5 Pādas two commentaries were written. One was *Uṇādimaṇidīpikā*[82] by Rāmabhadramakhin. The other one was by Śvetavanavāsin,[83] son of Ārya Bhaṭṭa of Gārgya gotra, who was a native of Uttaramerūr, but living at the *agrahāra*, near Indugrāma. He was well-versed in Dharmaśāstra. This Commentary is referred to by Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa in his *Prakriyāsarvasva*.

There is another commentary[84] by Satyavaryārya.

Auṇādika padārṇava[85] of Peru Sūri is an ocean of words derived through the *Uṇādisūtras*.

śrī kāñcīnagarāvāsām ākāṅkṣitaphalapradām
kāmāripreyasīm śaśvat kāmākṣīm kalayāmahe (end of lst pada).

kāminī kāmadviṣataḥ kāmitaphaladāyini prapatti juṣāṃ
kamiha śaraṇayitāhe kāmākṣī vinā dayāvatīm bhavatīm (p.80)
amba kāmākṣī kalyāṇī sambarārāti jīvike
bimbaśoṇādhare candrabimbakāntānane namaḥ p.81
svaśayyā pakṣapātena tadukti vyācikīrṣayā
avatīrṇam harim vande vāsudevādhvaricchalāt /
tacchiṣyo'ham perusūrir - mayoṇādi padārṇavaḥ (p.l).
prakṣiptasūtra tyāgaśca kliṣṭasūtrārthavarṇanam
tatpāṭhabhedakathanam sandigdhaprakriyākathā
eṣā catuṣṭayīkośād anyasmād iha bhedikā (p.2. ll-l2.)
prasaṅgāt kvacid anyeṣām api samsparśa śālinām
vyutpādanam iha prāyaḥ kriyate dhīviviktaye p.l. v.7
kośān viśvaprakāśādīn paryālocya viśeṣataḥ
vṛttīśca uṇādisūtrāṇām prayogānām api sthitim (8)
asandehāya liṅgānām nāmnām api savistaram
kṛtas satām mude bhūyād auṇādikapadārṇavaḥ

Uṇādikośa of Māhādeva gives the Uṇādi words with their meanings in the form of a lexicon, but differs from *Auṇādikapadārṇava* since it gives a critical examination of the *sūtras*, both genuine and interpolated, classification of difficult *sūtras*, giving variant readings of *sūtras* and the elucidation of the derivations wherever necessary.

Perusūri must have flourished after 1350 and before 1600 A.D. (fn.p.xv. Intro., of edn.)

Vāsudeva Dīkṣita[86] (17th Cent.) or Yājñika was associated with Tryambakarāya and Ānandarāya, ministers under Tanjore Maratha rulers. He was the son of Adhvaryu Mahādeva Vājapeyin and Annapūrṇā. Dīkṣita is the author of the well-known commentary *Bālamanoramā*[87] on *Siddhāntakaumudī*.

Śabdabhedanirūpaṇa[88] was written at the instance of Śāhaji by Veṅkaṭakṛṣna.[89]

Tirumalayajvan, son of Veṅkaṭayajvan of Ṣaḍdarśana family wrote the commentary *Sumanoramā* on *Siddhāntakaumudī* and his brother Śrīnivāsayajvan was the author of the commentary *Mahābhāṣyapradīpasphūrti* on *Mahābhāṣya*.[90]

Gopāla Kṛṣna Śāstri (17th-18th cent.) of Śrivatsagotra, son of Vaidyanātha and pupil of Rāmbhadrādhvarin, was patronised by Vijaya Raghunātha Toṇḍamān of Pudukkottai. He was a co-pupil of Sadāśiva Brahmendra and teacher of Appā Dīkṣita, who wrote *Pāṇinīyasūtraprakāśa*[90a] and Ananta

Gopālakṛṣṇa, the author of *Vedaśabdavibhūṣaṇa*.[91] Gopālakṛṣṇa's son and his disciple of Anantanārāyaṇa Śāstrin completed his father's commentaries on the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Siddhāntakaumudī* and continued *Śābdikacintāmaṇi* on *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. Gopālakṛṣṇa Sāstri wrote the commentary *Lalitā* on *Siddhāntakaumudī* which is referred to in *Śābdikacintāmani,*[92] a commentary on *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini upto I. iii. i. which was continued by his son upto I. iv.1.

Nārāyaṇa Sudhī[93] was another scholar, who hailed from Govindapura in Tamil Nadu. He wrote the commentary *Pradīpa* on *Śabdabhūṣaṇa*[94] on *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. His two other works in the field of grammar are *Śabdamañjari*[95] and *Sabdabhedanirūpaṇa*[96].

Jyotiṣa

Appaya of Kāśyapagotra was the father of Bhūgola Veṅkaṭeśvara of Vināyakapura in Tuṇḍīramaṇḍala (Kāñci). He was patronised by Vijayarāghava Nāyak (1633 - 73 A.D.) of Tanjore. He wrote several works on *jyotiṣa*.[97] One of his works *Vijayarāghavīya* is named after his patron.[98] He himself copied the *Tājikamahārṇava*[99] at Madurai.

Tulajārāja, wrote *Inakularājatejonidhi*,[100] in 12 chapters based on Śrīpati's treatise on *jyotiṣa*. He wrote another treatise on *jyotiṣa* called *Vākyāmṛta*[101].

A few other tracts found in the manuscript libraries of South India are *Gaṇitāmṛta*[102] of Abbayakavi, *Dinaphala*[103] of Kāśyapa Veṅkaṭeśa, *Navagrahapadakāni*[104] of Veṅkaṭanātha of Tanjore and *Kālakaumudī* [105] of Gopāla Draviḍa.

Lexicons

Two lexicons *Śabdaratnasamanvayakośa* and *Śabdārthasaṅgraha*[106] are ascribed to King Śāhaji.

Veṅkaṭācārya, who probably belonged to the 17th or 18th cent A.D., was a Vaiṣṇavite. He does not give any detail about his lineage. His *Daśadīpanighaṇṭu*[107] gives ten meanings for each word.

eg. *Sudhā* has the following meanings:

sudhākare, vṛkṣabhede dharmavrate api ca
sudhā kṣīre latābhede vidyāyāmikṣu vācake
amṛte cūrṇakalke syāt sudhā mādhvika kiṭṭake //

Medicine

Avadhāna Sarasvatī of Atri or Ātreyagotra, who was already referred to in the section on pure literature was the author of two medical tracts: *Auṣadhasaṅgraha*[108] and *Śataśloki* or *Vaidyaśataśloki*[109] or *Praśastauṣadhasaṅgraha*. This work is in 126 verses and prescribes medicine for fever, *raktapitta* and also herbs for preventing old age.

Ekāmranātha, father-in-law's father of Avadhāna Sarasvatī, wrote *Āyurvedasudhānidhi* at the instance of Sāyaṇa.[110]

Veṅkaṭesa, son of Avadhāna Sarasvati wrote two works on medicine, *Bheṣajakalpavyākhyā*[111] and *Praśnottararatnamālā*.[112]

Tulajā I or Tukkoji wrote *Dhanvantarivilāsa*[113] and *Dhanvantari sāranidhi*.[114]

Mīmāṁsā

Apart from the different branches of literature to which contributions were made by scholars of Tamilnadu in a significant measure, *Mīmāṁsā Sāstra* appears to have had a strong hold on a few scholars of this part of India.

The earliest one who wrote in this field was Vedānta Deśika (13th cent.) whose rich contributions are referred to in the section on Viśiṣṭādvaita. He has two works to his credit viz: *Mīmāṁsāpādukā* in verse and *Seśvaramīmāṁsā* in prose on *Pūrvamīmāṁsāśāstra*.[115]

Varadarāja, son of Raṅganātha Adhvarin and the great grandson of Praṇatārtihara of Kiḍāmbi family wrote a commentary, *Dīpikā* on *Nayaviveka*.[116]

Appaya Dīkṣita's[117] contribution to this field are *Upakramaparākrama*, *Vādanakṣatramālā*, *Mayūkhāvali* and *Citrapaṭa*.

Veṅkateśvara Dīkṣita, son of Govinda Dīkṣita, wrote a few works on *Mimāṁsa*. *Vārttikābharaṇa* is a commentary on Kumārila's *Ṭupṭīkā* by him. Besides these he also wrote a few works in this field.

Two other scholars who have enriched the system of *Mīmāṁsā* are Rājacūḍāmaṇi Dīkṣita and Veṅkaṭādhvarin. Rājacūḍāmaṇi Dīkṣita's works are three: (1) *Tantra śikhāmani*[118] (2) *Śaṅkarṣamuktāvali*[119] (3) *Karpūravarttikā*.[120] Veṅkaṭādhvarin, a contemporary of Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita and author of the well-known *campū*, *Viśvaguṇādarśa* wrote two works, *Vidhitrayaparitrāṇa*[121] and *Mīmāṁsāmakaranda*.[122]

Of the scholars mentioned above, Deśika has tried to bring about a union between the *Pūrva* and *Uttara mīmāṁsā*. Appayya Dīkṣita has tried to explain and systematise the rules of interpretation of the Bhāṭṭa school. Veṅkaṭeśvara Dīkṣita's small tract *Śulba mīmāṁsā*, as its very name indicates, gives details about the measurement of sacrificial altars. Veṅkaṭādhvarin's *Vidhitrayaparitrāṇa* explains why it is necessary to divide the *vidhis* as three: the *apūrva*, the *niyama* and the *parisaṅkhyā*.[123]

Notes and References

1. *Gandharvadattaiyār ilampakam* vv. 716-19. 723 ck.
2. *Tevāram*, p.407. Pondicherry edn. con.
3. Ibid. p. 360 (III. 81.2)
4. See *JOR*. Madras VII. pp. 303, 305.
5. *Epigraphia Indica* Ind. XII. p. 227.
6. *ISOA*. VI. 1938. pp. 195-96.
7. For details on Tamil Music see *Tamil Iśai* by A.N.Perumal. International Institute of Tamil Studies, Chennai.
8. *JOR*. Madras, VII. p.237
9. Nepal I. p.250. See *Journal of the Madras Music Academy* IV, pp.65-6. Chennai.
10. *Caturdaṇḍiprakāśikā*, pp.21. 75, Music Academy, Chennai.
11. *Saṅgītaratnākara* IV. pp.153 ff. Adyar.
12. See VR., *Journal of the Madras Music Academy* IV. pp.20-21, Cheṅnai, *Sangeet Nataka Akademi Bulletin*, No.17. July, 1960.
13. See *Sāhityaratnākara* V. vv. 30-32.
14. *Saṅgītasudhā* pp.5.64.81. see S.Sita, Tanjore as a seat of music pp.29 ff.
15. *Saṅgītasudhā*, The Music Academy, Chennai, 1940.
16. For an account of his life see *IHQ*. II. pp.220-41.
17. See *Sources of Vijayanagar History* p.267.
18. See VR., *Veṅkaṭamakhin and the 72 Melas*. pp.67-9. *Journal of the Madras Music Academy* XII (1941), Chennai.

19. Ed. S.Subramanya Sastri. (with Tamil Transl.), *Music Academy Ser.*3. in 2 parts. 1934. 1941. See NCC VI.p.309 b.
20. See Emmie tc Nijenhuis, *Musicological Literature* pp.31.33.
21. *JTSML* XVII pp.1-10.
22. Ibid. *XVII.*2.
23. Ibid. XIX. i, ii, iii.
24. *Music Academy Ser.* 5. Madras, 1942.
25. See S.Seetha, Op.Cit. pp.88 ff.
26. *JTSML.* XII. 1958.
27. See Intro.p.vi of *Saṅgitasāramṛta* edn.
28. S.Seetha, *Op.Cit.* pp.148-51
29. NCC. IX p. 176a
30. *JTSML.* VII. ii. pp.18-24.
31. TD. 10957
32. Vāṇi Vilās Press, Srirangam, 1927.
33. Cf. Jayadeva's *Aṣṭapadī: Vedāṇ uddharate* etc.
34. Published with commentary by Veṅkaṭeśa in Tamil (in two parts). Śri Nārāyanatirtha Educational and Charitable Trust (Regd.) Chennai - 28. 1986, 1987.
35. *Carnatic Music Composers* Ed. Dr.B. Dayananda Rao pp.7-11. The Triveṇi Foundations, Hyderabad, 1994; see also S.Seetha, *Op.Cit.* pp.187 ff.
36. B. Dayananda Rao, *Op.Cit.* pp.18-22.
37. *Songs of Sadāśiva Brahmendra.*
38. *ALB. Ser. 17.* Adyar Library, Chennai. 1938.
39. Adyar II. p.46b. See *Journal of the Music Academy* Madras IV. p.72.
40. *JTSML.* XXXIII. 1-12.
41. See S. Seetha, *Op.Cit.* 513, 559.
42. *JTSML.* XIII. 1-4. TD. 2185 gives the title of the work as *Śaraṇagirigadya* which appears to be a mistake for *Śaraṇāgatigadya* (!).

43. TD. 4234

44. Trav. Uni. 84850 C.

45. TCD. 1573G. Trav. Uni. C. 2001.

46. Several edns.

47. Published with Commentary of Subrahmaṇya Deśika. Tirunelveli South Indian Saiva Siddhanta Nurpadippu Kaḻakam. Kaḻaka Ser. 115. Chennai. 1 - 1969.

48. *FISC* I. i. p.471.

49. NCC IV. pp. 107-8.

50. *GOS.* XLV. 1930.

51. See Intro. p.12 to *GOS* edn.

52. (1) N.S. Press, 1893 (2) *Laghugranthamālā* Vol.28. Sampurnanad Skt. Visvavidyalaya. Varanasi, 1978.

53. See *JOR Madras IV* pp. 241-44. NCC VII. pp. 41b. 42a.

54. (1) N.S.Press. Bombay, 1893 (2) with Commentary of Dharānanda. Varanasi, 1946.

55. *Citramimāmsā: upamānirūpaṇam* p.33
upamaikā śailūṣi samprāptā citrabhumikā bhedān /
rañjayati kāvyaraṅge nṛtyanti tadvidām cetaḥ //

56. *K.M.* 38. Bombay, 1926 as Supp.

57. NCC I. Revised edn 99a-b.

58. Ibid. pp.399 a-b.

59. TD. 5207.

60. TD. 5131.

61. MT. 659 (d). See also VR., *Proceed.* of *AIOC.* Tirupati. X. 1940. pp. 176-80

62. MD. 12976

63. MT.5870 (a). TD.5129. See NCC I. Revised edn. pp. 400a-401b.

64. Part. I. Ullāsasas 1-6. Vani Vilas Press, Srirangam. 1926-27.

65. Ed. S. Rājalakshmi *JTSML* XXXIV. 1-10.
66. Śg. II. p.80. Extr. p.221. See NCC I. Revised edn. p.397 a.
67. See *ALB.* XV. 3.143-4.
68. MD. 12940. MT.5666 (inc.). See NCC III. p.118a.
69. MT.2918.
70. See *FISC.* I. i. p.475.
71. See *ALB.* XV.2. pp.93-4.
72. Hz.1617. TD. 5221.
73. TD.18750 - 55.
74. *JTSML.* XXXVI. 1-3. 105 with Tamil translation.
75. TD.3966. See NCC. X. p.177a.
76. Printed with Tamil translation *JTSML.* XIII, XIV, XV
77. TD.11048. *JTSML.* XVIII 1-2. 1-5.
77a. VR. *SV.* p.59. *JTSML.* III.1.
78. *Mad. Uni.* Skt.Ser. 21.1956.
79. NCC.II. pp.293 a-b
80. Ibid.
81. München 16.
82. NCC II. p.294 b.
83. *Mad. Uni. Skt. Ser.* 7 Pt.i.1933
84. TD. 5711.
85. Mad. *Uni. Skt. Ser.* 7. 1939.
86. VR. *SV.* p.46
87. In 2Vols. Balamanorama Press, Chennai 4.
88. TD. 5302.
89. VR. *SV.* p.47.
90. Adyar D.VI 354-55.

90a. Adyar D. VI. 141.

91. MT. 1640.

92. Adyar D.VI. 138. MT. 143. 1355. See *J.of Mad.Uni.* XXVII. p.179.

93. See VR. *SV.* Intro p.46 fn. 2.

94. Adyar D.VI. 17.

95. TD.5858.

96. TD.5303.

97. NCC I. Revised edn. pp.258 b-59a.

98. TD. 11603.

99. See TD. 11435.

100. TD. 11323 - 26.

101. Ibid. 11327.

102. MD. 17394. MT. 393 (a).

103. TD. XX. Sup. No. 1016 (s)

104. TD. 11705.

105. *FISC.* ii.p.719; see also NCC IV. p.14a.

106. GOS. LIX. 1931.

107. *SML.* XXXII. 1-10.

108. Mysore I. p.362.

109. MT.1942 (b). (in Telugu script), Madras, 1880.

110. Śg.I.p.162; See also *Viz. Sex. Cent.* Vol. p.301.

111. MD. 13182.

112. MD. 17173.

113. TD. 11066.

114. Ibid. 11069.

115. *Mimāṁsā Pādukā* and part of *Seśvara Mimāmsā*. Conjeevaram, 1902.

116. NCC. IX. p.350a

117. NCC I Revised edn. p.263a ff.

118. NCC VIII. p.96a

119. *Tattvabindu* edn. p. 253

120. Adyar D. IX. 88-90.

121. MD. 4470

122. MD 4461

123. For details about the works and authors of Mimāṁsā. See *Tattvabindu* with commentary *Tattvavibhāvanā, Ann.Uni.Skt. Ser.* No.3. pp.77 ff.

CHAPTER XVII

SANSKRIT AND TAMIL

Vedas

muvēḻulakamum ulakinuṇ manpatu
māyōy ninṟa vayiṟ parantavai yuraitte
māyā vāymoḻi (Paripāṭal 9-ll)

So says the Sangam treatise about the Vedas. It is called as the eternal, ever lasting scripture *māyā vāymoḻi*. *Kuṟuntokai*, another work of the Sangam period speaks of the Vedas as

eḻutāk kaṟpinincoḻuḻḻum (Kuṟuntokai 156)

'Unwritten text' ie. learnt only by rote (from preceptor to disciple). Such is the greatness of Vedas as found in these works of Tamil Nadu. Those who expounded the Vedas were called as *Vāymoḻip pulavar* (*Paripāṭal* 12-13). Vedas are called as *Śruti*, since they are learnt only by 'hearing' ie. by oral tradition. Moreover Vedas are eternal scriptures as per tradition.

Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai says that one of the faces of Lord Muruka protects the sacrifices of brahmins who recite the Vedas (94-6). The three sacred fires: the *Gārhapatya*, *Āhavanīya* and *Dakṣiṇāgni* are referred to here.

mūnṟu vakaik kuṟitta muttic celvat-
tirupiṟappāḷar poḻutaṟintu nuvala (181 - 82)

(*irupiṟppālan* are the twice born, *dvijas*)

Thus the prevalance of the connections with ritualistic practices are referred to in the early treatises of Tamil Nadu. The recitation of the Vedas are referred to in the *Maturaikkāñci* IIIX:

ciṟanta vētam vilaṅkap pāṭi ....
antaṇar paḻḻiyum (468-76)

Religious and Social Conditions

The prevalence of the performances of Vedic rituals was referred to above as also in the section on Vedas. The Kings belonging to the Sangam age were supporting Brahmins. Of these a chieftain, Nalliyakkōṭan was a ruler of Ōymānāṭu. During his reign, he welcomed the poets with gifts of money and made them stay at Āmūr, a centre for Brahmins and honoured them. (*Ciṟupāṇāṟṟuppaṭai* ll 185ff)

In *Perumpāṇāṟṟuppaṭai* (ll.155ff. p.143) there is a beautiful description of a courtyard wherein stay the monkeys which take away the dust and where deer and tiger sleep; where sages who keep the sacred fires ablaze with offering of sacred twigs also stay. (*Perum.* ll.498-500)

The author of this *Perumpāṇāṟṟuppaṭai*, Kaḍiyalūr Rudrankaṇṇanār, is a Brahmin.

In *Maturaikkāñci*, there are descriptions of these establishments: Bauddhappaḷḷi, Amaṇappaḷḷi and Antaṇanpaḷḷi (ll. 466 - 88)

In *Perumpāṇāṟṟuppaṭai* (ll. 299-301) there is a beautiful account of the protector of the Vedas. In the houses of these Brahmins there are small bowers resting on poles to which are tied calves. Small shrines of deities are there which are cleansed with cow-dung. There are no cocks and dogs. But there are parrots which are trained in the Vedas and there, in such a place, live the gaurdians of the sacred lore, the Vedas.

In the same text in (ll. 302-10) another description is given about the preparation of food by the lady of the house. This brahmin lady with beautiful tresses of hair is chaste like Arundhati. She prepares food with the rice named after a bird. With butter got from the butter milk of the red cow, she prepares a curry out ofthe *Kommaṭṭi Mātuḷai*, by frying it in that butter, sprinkles it with pepper and curry leaves. She also gets ready a pickle made with tender mangoes. Thus the preparation of food is described. Here the point to be noted is the reference to the rice. It is variously interpretated as *Sārasānna*, a variety of rice grown in six months and *Irāsānnam* which Naccinārkkiniyār says as the best rice for use in sacrifices. The lexicons refer to a *Garuḍacampā* which is a superior variety of rice. Since the rice is named after a bird this may be the same as *Garuḍcampā*.

In *Mullaippāṭṭu* there is a reference (35-36) to the young mahouts, who have not undergone regular study but use certain pharases or words in Sanskrit

while they guide the elephants. These elephants use the sugarcane leaves for wiping their faces instead of eating them. The mahouts use the *vaṭamoḻi* (Sanskrit)

Rāmāyaṇa Epics and Purāṇas

In the section on the Epics it was already shown how the *Kampa Rāmāyaṇa* is more of major Kāvya type whereas Valmiki's is full of narrative elements. A few differences in the narrations in the *Mahābhārata* and the Tamil versions were also pointed out.

Madhurakaṣvi Rāmāyaṇa veṇpā is another adaptation of the *Rāmāyaṇa*[1] in Tamil. *Rāmāyaṇa Uttarakāṇḍa* is ascribed to *Oṭṭakkūttar*, a great Tamil poet.

A comparison of the contents of the *Sundarakāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇas*, is given here briefly.

While Vālmikī's *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Sundara Kāṇḍa* runs upto sixty eight cantos, Kampan's version is only in fourteen *paṭalas* viz:

1) *Kaṭal Tāvupaṭalam*	2) *Ūrteṭu*	3) *Kāṭci*
4) *Urukkāṭṭu*	5) *Cūḍāmaṇi*	6) *Poḻiliṟutta*
7) *Kiṅkarar Vatai*	8) *Campumāḷvatai*	9) *Pañcasenāpativatai*
10) *Akkakumāranvatai*	11) *Pāśap*	12) *Piṇi viṭṭu*
13) *Ilaṅkaiyeriyūṭṭu*	14) *Tiruvaṭi toḻuta*	

It is well-known that Kampan based his work on that of Vālmikī's. It was not a mere verbatim reproduction, but the narration of the main incidents in a beautifully poetic form was the object of this great scholar. He has included several incidents occurring in the original either in an abridged form or elaborated them. A few incidents which occur in the Sundarakāṇḍa are given below.

While Hanumān crosses the sea he has to face three obstacles, one in the form of the Maināka Mountain, another in the form of a demoness Surasā,[2] the mother of the snakes. She was asked by the Gods to cause obstruction to Hanumān. She too does it, but is conquered by the Monkey. The third one is Aṅkāra Tārā[3] a demoness, who catches hold of people with their shadow itself. In Vālmiki's epic the name of this demoness is given as Siṁhikā.

There are some similarities in the narration of both Kampan and Valmīki. In both the works, Sītā asks Hanumān to describe the physical appearance of Rāma which he does accordingly. The descriptions are almost similar.

In the *Cūṭāmaṇippaṭala*, how Sītā reacts on seeing the ring is beautifully picturised in both the versions. There are almost parallel accounts of the emotions of Sītā.

iṟantavar piṟanta payan eytinar kōl enkō
maṟantavar aṟintu uṇarvu vantanar kōl enkō
turanta uyir vantu itai toṭarntatu kōl enkō
tiṟam terivatu ennai kōl. (v.529l)

iḷanta maṇi puṟṟu aracu etirṅtatu enal āṇāḷ[5]

This is almost similar to the verse of Vālmīki.

eti jīvantam ānandam janam varṣa śatād api[6]

In the *Cūṭāmaṇippaṭala*, the *kākāsuravṛttānta*, the crow which gave trouble to Sītā and finally lost one of its eyes as a punishment by the arrow aimed by Rāma, is narrated in a single verse[7] by Kampan whereas it is described in eighty three verses[8] by Vālmīki.

After Hanumān's return from Laṅkā, the monkeys become very happy to know the whereabouts of Sitā. Filled with joy they enter the Madhuvana belonging to Sugriva and create havoc there. When Sugriva was informed of this, he immediately understands that Hanumān has successfully done his job. This whole episode[9] is treated as an interpolation in a few editions of Kampan's *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Māhābhārata

The dissimilarities in the narration of the episode in Villi's *Bhārata* and Vyāsa's Bhārata have been pointed out in the section on epics. Here the differences in the arrangements of the *vyūhas* (formation of armies) and the episode of the poisonous tank are given.

The *Yakṣapraśna* or the questions put forth by the Yakṣa to Dharmaputra and the suitable answers given by the latter is an important section in the *Māhābhārata*. How it differs in its contents in the Sanskrit and Tamil versions of this epic is given below.

This episode occurs in the *Āraṇya Parva* [10] of the *Vanaparva* of Vyāsa's *Bhārata*.

The Pāṇḍavas in order to retrieve the churning rod and the wood taken away by a deer from the hermitage were forced to follow the animal. The

Pāṇḍavas become tired and thirsty when they go for a long distance in search of it. Nakula is asked to climb a tree and locate the place where water is available. Nakula sees a tank in the midst of a cluster of tree nearby. He is asked to go there and fetch the water. He goes there, but when he tries to quench his thirst, is prevented by an aerial voice, which asks him to answer the questions put forth by it. Nakula, not paying heed to this, drinks the water and falls unconscious. Similarly the other three brothers fall down. When they did not return Dharmaputra goes there and notices the condition of his brothers. The Yakṣa, as before, wants Yudhiṣṭhira to answer the questions and Dharmaputra readily accepts the wager. This is the famous *Yakṣapraśna*, in which several wise answers in a cryptic manner are given. Thus Dharmaputra wins over the yakṣa who is none other than Yama, the God of Death and the father of Dharmaputra. The lives of all the brothers are revived and Yama blesses them for their success in *incognito* life and also gives a boon especially to Dharmaputra with the power to conquer greediness, infatuation, and anger as per his request.

jayeyam lobha mohau ca krodham cāham sadā vibho /
dāne tapasi satye ca mano me satatam bhavet //

This is Vyāsa's version.

Villipputūrār gives somewhat an altered version of this episode in his *Bhārata*. In the *Āraṇya parva* of the *Bhārata* (Tamil) there are eight sections of which the *Naccuppoigai* is the last.

Pāṇḍavas stay at Viṣṇucitta's hermitage. Duryodhana, as usual, seeks the help of Kālamāmuni for killing them. That sage performs a sacrifice from which arises a ghost. This is deployed for killing the five brothers.

In the meanwhile, the God of death, coming to know of this, plans to save the Pāṇḍavas. They see a deer taking away a deer's skin from a hermit boy. To get it back the five brothers follow the animal. They lose sight of the deer. Pāṇḍavas become tired by chasing the animal and they are thirsty. Sahadeva is sent for fetching water. He goes to a tank in the midst of a cluster of trees. There, Yama puts some questions; but Sahadeva is unable to answer them; when he drinks the poisonous water he dies. The same fate is faced by other brothers excepting Dharmaputra. Bhīma, the last victim writes on the sand about how all of them died. Yudhiṣṭhira coming there faints because of fatigue. The ghost coming there and finding all the brothers as though dead, goes back and devours Kālamāmuni himself. Dharmaputra regaining consciousness, agrees to answer the questions of Yama (by aerial voice). Here only two verses ॥ are given as the

question and answer of Yama and Dharmarāja. Yama appears before Yudhiṣṭhira and blesses him with a *mantra* (power) for changing their forms during the *incognito* period and for their success during that period.

It is pointed out in recent seminars that the story of Sudarśana and Baghavaṭī[12] bears a close resemblance to the story of *Iyarpakai Nāyanār* in *Periyapurāṇam*[13]. Sudarśana who has taken a vow to feed the brahmins and fulfil their desires whatever they may be, agrees to offer his wife to a guest. But the guest is really Yama and blesses Sudarśana that he will overcome death. In *Periyapurāṇa* also a similar episode occurs. A devotee of Śiva, Iyarpakai offers his wife to another devotee of Lord Śiva. But actually it is Śiva himself who has come in disguise and made the request to test him.

Purāṇas

Tamil versions of the Purāṇas and the *Sthalamāhātmyas* were already referred to in the section on Purāṇas. V. Raghavan in the *Purāṇa* Bulletin [14] has given a detailed account of the Tamil versions of the Purāṇas. An observation is made here how the Tamil version is helpful in locating the versions of particular purāṇas.

Raghavan has referred to the Tamil version of the *Matsyapurāṇa* by Vaḍamalaiyappap pillai. The importance of this Tamil version is that it has brought to light a text of the *Matsyspurāṇa* in two *khaṇḍas*. The author of this work, Irasai Vaḍamalaiappap Pillai refers to his having adapted this Purāṇa from Sanskrit. He says that he was a poet under the Maturai Nāyak ruler.

maippuyalvaṇṇan maccamāyuraitta maccamām purāṇattait tamiḻāl
ippuvik keṇṇūṟṟenpatti reṇḍāṇ ṭiśaintiṭum mavviya varuṭat /
taippaci matiyiloppilā tinattil lamutena kaviyena yārkkum
ceppiya viracai vaṭamalai makipan celvamoṭinitu vāḻiyave //

Thus the Tamil version is helpful in solving the textual problem of the *Matsyapurāṇa*.

Tiruviḷaiyāṭal or the sixty - four wonderful acts performed by Lord Sundareśvara has been the theme for some *purāṇas* in Tamil and a *Kāvya* in Sanskrit. The Tamil versions are known as *Tiruviḷaiyāṭal Purāṇa* and the Sanskrit Kāvya is *Śivalīlārṇava* of Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita.

The Tamil Purāṇas depicting the wonderful sports of Śiva are:

1) *Tiruviḷaiyāṭalpurāṇam*[15] (Maturaikkāṇṭam) *(Kūṭaṟkāṇṭam)* and *(Tiruvālavāykkāṇṭam)* by Parañjōti munivar.

2) *Tiruvālavāyuṭaiyār Tiruviḷaiyāṭar Purāṇa*[16] in verse by Cellinakar Perum Paṟṟappuliyūr Nampi (12th Cent.)

3) *Tiruvālavāyuṭaiyār Purāṇa*[17] in Prose by Nallūr Ārumuka Nāvalar.

The Sanskrit version, *Sivalīlārṇava*[18] is in 22 cantos and is by the well known scion of the Dīkṣita family, Śrī Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita. All these versions show differences in the order of narration as also in the contents. Some examples are given below:

Parañjōti Munivar's version says that this purāṇa was told by Nandin to Sanatkumāra who in turn narrated this to Vyāsa and from him Sūta picked it up.[19]

The Introduction adds that this purāṇa is based on *Skāndapurāṇa*, *Īśasaṁhita*, *Hālāsyamāhātmya*. It further gives the details of how this purāṇa was handed over. Lord Muruka, seated on the lap of Lord Śiva hears the stories of the wonderful sports of Śiva,. being narrated to Pārvatī. He in turn says this to sage Agastya. Then the narration became known as *Agastyasaṁhitā* (v.14). One of the sources for this work is also the *Sundara Pāṇḍya* of Vāyarpati Anatāri. The author narrates in a verse that he wrote this purāṇa at the request of noble learned men.

..... ālavāy pukaḻ maiyantac
ciranṭiṭum vaṭanūr tannait ten colār ceyti yenriṅ
kuraitiṭum periyor kūṟa (v.24)

The second version *Tiruvālvāyuṭayār Tiruviḷaiyāṭarpurāṇa* by Perumpaṟṟappuliyūr Nambi[20] is based on the Sanskrit *Sārasammuccaya*, part of *Uttaramahāpurāṇa*.[21] The author belonged to Cellinagar, near Madurai. He was a Smārta brahmin by name Coḷiya, belonging to the Kauṇḍiṇya gotra. He is also called Tiilai Nampi, which shows his close association with Cidambaram.

Cellinagar is also known as Paraśurāma Caturvedimaṅgalam, now called as Panaiyūr, near Karivalam vandanallūr in Sankaranāyanār koil.[22] Probably this work was composed in the 16th cent.

vyāta vānmiki yeccan conna .....,
viḷaiyāṭal kaḷir ..... tiruviḷaiyāṭalin
parappaic curukki yiṉṟu potamura
numak kuraitten ..... [23]

There are still three more versions in Tamil

l) *Tiruvālavāyuṭaiyār Tiruviḷaiyāṭar payakaraṃālai* of Vīrabhadra Kampan (64 verses).

2) *Ilīlāsaṅgrahādhyāyam* l0th chapter of *Kadambavanapurāṇa* (64 verses) and

3) *Tiruaucāttān nānmaṇimālai*[24]

A few references are made on the order of narrations in the different versions in the tabular column given below.

Nāyanmārs, spread the Bhakti cult in Tamil Nadu through their psalms, *Tēvāram, Tiruvaruṭpā* and also through other musical compositions as the *Tiruppugaḻ* of saint Aruṇagirināthar, and the several psalms of Paṭṭinattār, Tāyumānavar and the Siddhar's songs. The life-history of the Nāyanmārs formed the theme for *Periyapurāṇam* of Cekkiḻār. This *purāṇa* in two *kāṇdas*, consisting of a total of thirteen *Carukkams*, describes the lives of the sixty four nāyanmārs in beautiful and lucid verses. In total there are one hundred and twenty three chapters each called as *purāṇa*.

There are Sanskrit versions also available on the lives of the Nāyanmārs. Of these the one is *Sivabhaktamāhātmya*[25] from *Bhaviṣyottara purāṇa*. Another version is *Śivabhaktavilāsa* of which one is by Haradatta[26] as expounded by Agastya, which is in seventy nine chapters. The second version bearing the same title is ascribed to Upamaṇyu.[27] This is in l03 chapters. Both these versions are said to be from *Skandapurāṇa*. All these texts give importance to the story of Sundara (*Taḍuttāṭkoṇḍārpurāṇa*), Tirunāvukkaracu or Vāgiśa (429 vv in Sekkiḻār) and Tirujñānasambandhar (l256 vv.). The life history of the well known Siddhar Tirumūlar is also included here.

The Tamil and Sanskrit versions differ in the order of the stories. Usually the *Purāṇas* and the *Sthalamāhātmyas* in Tamil commence with an account of the greatness of the region, country, city, river etc. (*Tirumalaicciṛappu, Tirunāṭṭucciṛappu, Tirunagaracciṛappu, etc.,*)

In Upaṃanyu's *Śivabhaktavilāsa*, Sundara's story is given in chapters 5-ll and l4-l7 and in *Periyapurāṇam* it is given as *Taḍuttāṭkoṇḍapurāṇam* (5th chapter of *Tirumalaiccarukkam*). Suitable Sanskrit names have been given to the Nāyanmārs. A few examples:

Śivabhakta vilāsa	*Periyapurāṇa*
Mānavikrama (Ch.30)	Mānakkañjāra (Ch.l2)

Dhīra Śabara (Netrārpaka Dhīraniṣādha) (Ch.26-29)	Kaṇṇappanāyanār (Ch.l0)
Adbhuti (Ch.47)	Appūti (Ch.25)
Naminātha (Ch.49)	Navanandi (Ch.27)
Gonātha (Ch.32)	Ānāya (Ch. 14)
Caṇḍeśvara (Ch.39)	Caṇḍeca (Ch.20)
Jñānasambandha (Ch. L-LVII)	Tirujñānacambandha (Ch.28)

In the story of Sundara, how he started singing in praise of Lord Śiva is given thus in *Periyapurāṇa* and Upamanyu's *Śivabhaktavilāsa.*

Periyapurāṇa

anbanai aruḷin nōkki aṅkaṇar arulic ceyvār
' munpenaip pittan enroṛe molintanai ātalāle
'en peyar pittan enṛe pāṭuvāy ' enṛār niṛa
van toṇṭar āṇḍa vaḷḷalai pāṭaluṛṛār *Periyapurāṇa p.27, v.73*

kottār malark kuḷaḷaru kūṛay aṭiyavar pāl
meyttāyinum iniyānai avviyan nāvalar perumān
"pittā piṛai cuṭi enap peritān tirup patikan
it tāraṇi mutalām ulakellām u(y)ya eṭuttār *Periyapurāṇa (v.74)*

Upanmanyu Śivabhaktavilāsa

After entering the Temple at Ārūr, Sundarar worships Śiva and the Lord blesses him and asks him to sing in praise of the Lord. When Sundarar is confused as to how he should begin, the Lord says thus:

pitta bhrānteti yat proktam pāruṣyāt sundara tvayā /
tat pitta śabdam ādau tvam uktvā gāyasva mām prati //
sannidhāsyati macchaktyā tava vāci sarasvatī /
ityājñapto maheśena harṣa vismaya saṁyutah //
agāyad daśa geyāṁ prathamam siva s'āsanāt
tat pitta śabdam padyādau prayujya draviḍoktibhih

IX. 14-16

The ten verses sung by Sundaraṛ in the *Tēvāram* are referred to:

'*pittā pirai cūḍi*' (Tamil)
Pittabhrānteti ..... agāyad daśa
geyāni ..... draviḍoktibhiḥ (Sanskrit)

Two verses referred to by M.Raghavan Iyengar on *Bhāgavata* and *Rāmāyaṇa* are given below.

The first verse refers to the *Bhāgavatasāra* composed by Tāṇḍaveśa.

pāruḷork kakalāta phavattāpaṅ kẹtap bhābagatattaik kañjat
tārulāvum tāṇḍavanār bhāgavata sāramena tamiḻ ceyvittān
terulā neṭuvitik karumpai nakariñja kulātipan korra
mata veḷ periyāṅtip pulukaṇi ventula kāḷu mannarere
vaṭamoḻiyil veta vyātan pukalum bhāgavata nūlai vāvun
kaṭalamutat tiraṭṭi yeṭuttiruṅkarai yin mel vaittu kātei poka
kuṭamunivan renṟamiḻāta bhāgavata sāram enakkuṟi tturaittān
taṭamaliyu merakarap pūsurar kōn kārutiyuṇar ṭāṇḍaveśar // [28]

The second verse on the Rāmāyana story is a single verse:

Ekavṛtta Rāmāyaṇa

tātaiyār cola Rāman kāṭu potal cārntuḷa pon mānenru mārican śātal
śitaiyār piri veruvai maraṇanbhānu ceyoṭu naṭpuk kōṭal vāli viṭal
odanīr kaṭar parappaiyanuman rāṇṭal uyarilaṅkai nakareriyāl vevak kāṇal
pātakarām arakkarelām iṟakkat tākkal pākkiya rāmāyaṇa cirk kataiyite[29]

The story of Mārkaṇḍeya is another theme handled in the *Purāṇas*. In the *Kandapurāṇa* a separate section called *Mārkaṇḍeyapaṭala* is found. In the *Puṛanānūru* a reference is made to Mārkaṇḍeyanār pulavar (pp.42 & 43). The *Mārkaṇḍeyanār Kāñci* is referred to in *Yāpparuṅkalak kārikai*. Maṇakkuḍavar in his commentary on the *Kural: suṟṟam kutittālum kai kūṭum nōṟṟalin āṟṟal talaippaṭṭavarkku*. The commentator says thus: Just as Mārkeṇḍeya escaped. Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār, too refers to the Lord kicking Yama (*Arputat tiruvantāti* v.80 and *Tiru viraṭṭai maṇimālai* v.12).

Literature

Here a few similarities and differences in the adaptation of the theme or motifs in Sanskrit and Tamil Kāvyas are given. The evils of gambling are stressed in the Vedic hymns.

In the *Mahābhārata*, how the Pāṇḍavas lost their kingdom by dice play is fully described. In the same epic Nala's story is also found in the *Vana parva*.[30] This episode of Nala has inspired many scholars both in Sanskrit and Tamil, to narrate this story in their respective mediums through their poems. In Sanskrit the foremost epic - poem, *Naiṣadhīyacarita* of Śrīharṣa (12th cent.) is unequalled by any other Sanskrit kāvya, in its depth, magnitude and grandeuer.

Of the Tamil versions of Nala's episode the earlier one is by Pukaḻēnti (late 12th cent. or early 13th cent. A.D.). His *Naḷaveṇpā*[31] is more an abridged one and contains 5 sections called *kāṇḍas*. 1) *Pāyiram* 2) *Suyamvarakāṇṭam* 3) *Kalitoṭaṟ* 4) *Kaliṅṅku* 5) *Pinnurai*.

In this poem the evils of gambling are clearly brought out in three verses.

kātal kavaṟaṭal kaḷḷuṇṭal poy moḻital ītal ivai kaṇṭāy - pōtil
cinaiyāmai vaikuṅ tirunāṭā cemmai ninaiyāmai pūṇṭār neṟi
(20.5)

aṟattai vēr kallu marunarakir cērkkum tirattaiye koṇṭaruḷai
tēykkum
pūṇṭu virotañ ceyyum poye cūtai mikkorkaḷ tīṇṭùvaro
veṇṟār terintu
(20.6)

uru vaḻikkum uṇmaiyuyar vaḻikkum vaṇmait
tiruvalikkum mānañc citaikkum - maruvam
oruvaroṭanpaḻikkum onralla cūtu poruvaro takkōr purintu
(20.7)

In the beginning of the work the author refers to Vedavyāsa who wrote the Nala story *niḍadattār ventan caritai - idenṟu uraittu veda vyāṭa munivaṟ*. There are also references to Narasiṁhāvatāra, Gajendra mokṣa and quotations from Bṛhadaśva's *Aśvaśāstra*, *Ariccandrapurāṇa* and also to the sources of pearls.

The facial expressions of Damayanti as described here are similar to the *sāttvikabhavas* of a dancer.

tonṭaik kanivāy tuṭippac cuṭar nutal mel veṇeṭaraḷambena
ṿiyarvarumpak - keṇṭaik kaṭai civappa ninṟāḷ. kaḻan maṅkai velḷai
kuṭai civappa ninṟāḷ. *v.188*

Here a few of the eight *sāṭtvika bhāvas* viz. stupefication, perspiring, tremor, change in the colour of the face etc. are depicted. The throbbing of the lips, perspiration, side glances are referred to in this verse.

Another verse compares the face to the stage where the creeper like brows are dancing.

maṅkai vatana maṇi araṅkilaṅkaṇ vativāṇa mer kāl vaḷaittu vār puruvameṉum koṭi āṭak kaṇṭānōr kūttu.

Ativīrarāma Pāṇḍiya another royal scholar who died in 1610 was the ruler of Tenkasi and Korkai in Southern Tamil Nadu. His personal name was Aḷakar Perumāḷ and was the son of Kulaśekhara. He was also known as Tamiḻ Vaḷartta Tennavan and Vallapatevan.[32] His kāvya on Naḷa, well known as *Naiṭatam* (TN)[33] is in twenty-nine chapters covering the entire story of Nala upto his redemption from the evil effects of Kali, reunion with Demayanti and children, and regaining the kingdom. He has based his kāvya on *Naiṣadhīyacarita* in Saṅskrit of Sri Harṣa. This Mahākāvya in Sanskrit stops with the joyous life Nala led after his marriage with Damayantī. The number of chapters in the Sanskrit Mahākāvya are also twenty two only. A few chapters are elaborated. For example Damayantī accusing the moon and Cupid, unable to bear the separation from her lover is described only in one chapter in *Naiṣadhīyacarita*. (Chapter 4) whereas in the Tamil version of Ativīrarāma Pāṇṭiyan. There are three chapters devoted for this *nilāttotṟu, condropālambana, manmathopālambana* (Chs. 10-12). The *Svayamvara* section in *Naiṣadhiyacarita* is in four chapters (ch. 10-13) whereas in the Tamil version it is described in a single chapter (Chapter 13) The marriage episode is in a single chapter(13) in the Tamil version, but in *Naiṣadhīyacarita* it is in two chapters (15, 16).

naiṣadham vidvad auṣadham

So goes the Sanskrit quotation, which means, this work is a testing stone for the learned people; similar to this is the Tamil saying

naiṭatam pulavark kauṭatam

A few verses from the above mentioned two versions bear close resemblance. Nala smitten with love, on seeing the *ketaka* flower (*tāḻai*) accuses it since it is the arrow of Cupid. When aimed at a person it does not only pierce the person but when pulled out, the thorn like bristles on the edges of the flower pull out with the flesh etc. from inside. Here reference is made to the practice of not using this flower for worshipping Śiva:

vinidra patrāli gatāli kaitavān mṛgānka cūḍāmaṇi varjanārjitam /
dadhānam āśāsu cariṣṇu duryaśaḥ sa kautukī tatra dadarśa kaitakam //

NC: I.78

viyogibhājām hṛdi kaṇṭakaih kaṭur nidhīyase karṇi śaraḥ smareṇa
yat
tato durākarṣatayā tadantakṛd vigīyase manmatha deha dāhinā //
I. 79

The following lines taken from *Naiṭatam* may be compared:

nākiḻa vari vaṇtuṇṭu naṟavu koppuḻikkum kaitāy pākuṟu kaḻai
veḻeyyiṟ paṟip paritāyuḷḷāvi
yeka mey taḻarntōr neñjamīrntiṭum muḷḷampenṟe vākaivin matanaic
ceṟṟōn vaḻaintiṭā tikanntavāre //
(Naiṭatam - III 19.)

In another verse the Cupid is accused of hitting the lover with the arrow of *ketaka*, but smearing his hand moistened with honey, with its pollen to make it rough.

dhanur madhu svinna karo, api bhīmajāparam parāgais tavadhūli
hastayan
prasūna dhanvā śarasāt karoti mām iti krudhā akruśyata tena
kaitakam
NC. I.81

viḻaiyunar āvi pōḻum vēnilāniratamūṟum kaḻai kuḻaittaḷi nāṇeṟṟik
kaṇai malar toṭukkiṟṟinten
maḻaiyiniṟ karaṅgaṇālum vaḻu vaḻuttḻukkā vaṇṇaṉ
taḻai maṭar kaitāy nir poṟṟātukaitimirn tey vānār

(Paṭala III.v.40) ATN

(*Kaitāy* is *ketaka* in Sanskrit and *tāḻai* in Tamil)

Parrots and other birds singing in praise of Nala, when he enters the garden is described in both the versions.

eg:

nañjumiḻ velinānā cīrttināṭoṟu mañcolār payiṟṟalālantaṇ kāvinin
mañcari yiṭai yiṭai vatinta pūvaiyum paiñciṟaik kiḻḻaiyum pāṭak
keṭṭanan
Naiṭatam III. 45

itīṣṭa gandhāḍhyam asau vanam pikopagitopi śuka stuto, pi ca /
avindata āmodabharam bahiścaram vidarbha subhrū viraheṇa nāntaram
NC I. 104

When Nala goes to see Damayantī carrying the message of the Gods, he moves about invisible. On his way there, he experiences some odd situations of which a few are given both from the Sanskrit and Tamil kāvyas.

prasūprasādādhigatā prasūnamālā nalasyodbhrama vīkṣitasya /
kṣiptāpi kaṇṭhāya tayopakaṇṭham sthitam tam ālambata satyameva //
sragvāsanā dṛṣṭa jana prasādaḥ satyeyam ityadbhutam āpa bhūpaḥ /
kṣiptām adṛśyatva mitām ca mālām ālokya tām vismayate sm bālā //
NC. VI. 49 - 50

maṭavaral uruvoḷi mannan ṟon micai yiṭaiyaṟā viḷaivuṭa neṉṟuñ cūṭṭal pōṉ /
miṭai malarp pūntoṭai cūṭṭa mēviya cuṭarilai vēlinān ṟoḷiḷ vīntate //
Naiṭatam XI 60

The following verses describe how the ladies in the harem became perplexed when the invisible Nala unknowingly came in their path.

tāruṇya puṇyām avalokayantyo anyonya meṇekṣaṇayor abhikhyām/
madhye muhūrtam sa baḍhūva gacchan ākasmikacchādana vismayāya/ /
NC. VI. 40

In this verse Nala who passes in between two damsels, who were admiring their beauty, became surprised at the sudden interruption of their mutual view.

etir mukaṃāyiruntiruvar paintuṇarp putumalar koṭuttalu naṭuvaṭ pukkavan
katumena vēkalu maṟaippak kanniyar matimayak kuṟa muka
maṟaittatennenpār//
Naiṭatam XI. v.55.

tasmin viṣajyārdhapathāttapātam tadaṅgarāgacchuritam nirīkṣya /
vismeratām āpuravismarantyaḥ kṣiptam mithaḥ kandukam indumukhyaḥ//
NC VI. 42

kaḷḷaviḻ kotaiyareṟinta kantukam vaḷḷan mārpuṟṟetir maṛintu viḻtalun
taḷḷaru matiśaya meytit tattamil veḷḷiṭaip paṭṭivaṇ miṇṭaten enpār

Naiṭatam XI. 54

In the above verse, the poet describes, how the invisible Nala was hit by the ball while the maidens were playing with it and these girls were wonder-struck when they saw the ball dropping midway tinted with red colour because of the contact with Nala's body.

The above account shows how the Tamil version was influenced by the Sanskrit version.

Story of Jīvaka (Cīvaka)

The life history of Jīvaka (or Cīvaka), his birth under difficult circumstances, his kingdom being usurped by his uncle by ruse, his adventures, marrying several ladies, the wagers which he faces for winning the hands of these damsels and finally relinquishing the kingdom and becoming a follower of Jainism - all these have been the theme of *Kāvyas* both in Sanskrit and Tamil. Of these special mention must be made of *Cīvakacintāmaṇi* [34] of Tiruttakka tēvar and *Civēntracaritai*[35] of Taccampāṭi Tēvarācan both in Tamil and *Gadyacintāmaṇi*[36] and *Kṣattracūḍāmaṇī* [37] of Vādībhasiṁhadeva and *Jivandhara campū*[38] of Mahākavi Haricandra Sūri, in Sanskrit.

The number of *lambas* are the same, eleven, in the Sanskrit versions. The Tamil version contains 13 *lambas* adding two more *Maṇamakaḷ ilampakam* and *Pūmakaḷ ilampakam.*

Almost all the motifs used for the development of the different lambas are the same in both the versions. We may notice three motifs here.

1) The lute contest occuring in the *Gandharvadattāilambaka.*

2) The game of ball in the *Vimalaiyārilambaka.*

3) The *Trivarāhayantra* or *Tiripaṉṟiyantra* in the *Lakṣaṇā lambaka*

1) The lute contest can be traced to the *Bṛhatkathāślokasaṅgraha* of Budhasvāmin (A.D.) a closer version of the not extant Paiścāci *Bṛhatkathā.* In this the lute contest is referred to and the hero who takes part in the contest is Vīṇādatta. *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Somadeva another version of this Paiśāci *Bṛhatkathā* contains the adventures of Naravāhanadatta, who also wins the hands of Gandharvadattā in a contest. In Pañcalambaka[39] this episode is given briefly. He finds faults in the lutes that were brought, such as the presence of hair, etc.

in the strings. Here, the hero Naravāhana is said to have played a song in praise of Viṣṇu.

so'pi tām vādayan viṣṇoragāyat gītakam tathā.[40]

In *Gadyacintāmaṇi*, Jīvaka is the hero who figures in this contest, and finds out faults in the musical instruments that were brought.

tataś cakoranetrāyāḥ paricārikābhiḥ pradarśitāḥ pratyekam śāstranetra
mirīkṣaṇād doṣān udbodhayan ghoṣavatīr adūṣayat
(*Gadyacintāmaṇi* p.69)

But in *Kṣatracūḍāmaṇi* there is no reference to Jīvaka finding defects in the instruement. In both these works the lute is called as *Ghoṣavatī.*

Jīvandharacampū of Haricandra also refers to Jīvandhara finding faults in the lute.

tadanu pratyakṣapañcaśaraḥ
..... Jīvandharaḥ ..... samāgatya
vīṇākalākuśalān prājña agresarān guṇa
doṣa parīkṣāyām vidhāya abhidhāya ca
niyogijana ānitāsu tricaturāsu vīṇāsu
keśaroma lavādikam doṣam [41] .....
sughoṣām nāma vīṇām parijagrāha.

Here the name of the *viṇā* is *sughoṣā.*

In these episodes as given in different texts the *vīṇā* is generally known as Ghoṣāvatī or specifically named as Sughoṣā. The song sung by the hero is in praise of Jina in *Gadyacintāmaṇi.*

jinasya lokatraya vanditasya prakṣālyet pāda sarojayugmam /
nakha prabhā divyasarit pravāhaiḥ saṁsāra paṅkam mayi
gāḍhalagnam // [42]

But in *Kathāsaritsāgara* Naravāhanadatta sings a song in praise of Viṣṇu while playing on the *Viṇā.*[43]

so'pi tām vādayan viṣṇor agāyat gītakam tathā.

In *Cīvakacintāmaṇi* [44] this episode, especially the music part of it and finding faults in the lute is very elaborate. For example the presence of hair in the string is pointed out

pūntoṭai yarivai kāṇap puri nekiḻturomamkāṭṭa (v.72l)

The beautiful and pleasant song sung by Cīvaka is also full of references to the elaboration of the melody and other technicalities handled while singing.[45]

Though there are minor differences in the description, the kernel of the theme is kept in tact.

2) Similarly the game of ball is used as a motif in the *Vimilaiyār ilambakam.* Vimalai is playing with five baḷls in her hand, of which one slips and falls on Cīvaka who was going along that path. She, while picking it up, falls in love with him. Her father whose merchandise could not be sold manages to sell the goods when Cīvaka stays in their house and in return Vimalai gets married to Cīvaka.

Here the verses which are given in this episode have a tinkling sound with rhythm suited to the striking of the ball.

aṅkai yaṅtalattakatta vaiṅtu pantamarntavai maṅkai yāṭa mālai cūḻum
vaṇṭu pola vantuṭan /
poṅki mīteluntu pōyppiṟaḻṅ pāytaliṉṟiye ceṅkaya kaṇ puruvaṅ
tammuḷ wuvañ cayyat tiriyumḷ //

In *Jivandharacampū* a brief account (l953) of this episode is given.[46]

3) The *Tiripaṉṟiyantra*: This motif is used in the *Lakṣmaṇā* (Lakkaṇā)-*lambaka* in Sanskrit versions. In *Cīvakacintāmaṇi*, the contest is referred to in the *Maṇamakalilampaka* and the marriage in the *Lakkaṇāilampaka*. This contest resembles the *Matsyayantra* episode in the *Mahābhārata*.

Gadyacintāmaṇi describes this wager thus:

atirundra cakrayantra - niyantritam nāma yugapadeva pātayītum.
śaknoti śareṇa śaranyatām gatam
varāhatrayam ṿarāhe'sminneva varo ayam asmat kumāryāḥ
syāt iti //

The details of the wager as found in *Kṣattracūḍāmaṇi* is given thus:

na śekuś cāpinas sarve kva vidyā kvą pāragāminī /
alātaka cakram śīghram cakram āruhya helayā
vivyādha vijayāsūnur bhānuḥ kim na tamoharaḥ [48]

In *Cīvakacintāmaṇi* this skill to strike at a whirling target is referred to in the *Maṇamakaḷ ilampakam*

-- *tiripanṟiyeyta aru makanākumeṟāṅkaṇi*
muracaṟaivittāne // [49] (v. 2177)

Here only a brief comparison is made just to show how the life story of the famous King Cīvaka or Jīvandhara has influenced the poets in both the languages and how they have been modified. The Tamil version is full of several cultural details and is noteworthy.

Kādambarī [50] by Āti Varāha Kavi is a versified version of the prose work of the same by Bāṇa (7th cent. A.D.). The original in Sanskrit was half done by the author, the reason for which is not known and his son Bhūṣaṇa Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa completed this prose romance. The Tamil work contains *Pāyiram* 14 verses and text 1218 verses of which the first part has 904 verses.

Āti Varāha Kavi must have lived in the Cola country in the 15th cent. A.D. He gives the date of his work as Kali 4502 (A.D.1412).

aruḷālan aḷittaruḷ ātivarākaṉ nūtip
poruḷākaraṉ piṉṉavan poruni nāṭaṉ onrin
maruḷā maṟai yāl poruḷornti vaṇavāḻa
teruḷākaran ikkatai centamiḻākacceytān //
aruṅ kaliyukattu nālāyirattainnūṟṟiraṇṭu
tiruntiya varuṭan tamil ciṟanta kāviriyār kōmān
tokun teru aṉaiyāṉ āpattamba cūttirattu nallūr
virumpiya phāradvāca gōttiram vilaṅka vanton

Similarly the life history of Yaśodhara is also found handled by both the Tamil and Sanskrit scholars. The original theme found in *Uttarapurāṇa* has been dealt with in detail in the Prākṛta kāvya of Puṣpadanta, in Sanskrit *Yaśodaracarita* of ,Vādirājasūri and Haribhadra and *Yacodharakāvya* in Tamil.

Apart from the themes that have been adapted in both the languages, several wise sayings in the form of verses run parallel in their contents in Sanskrit and Tamil. Of these *Nālaṭiyār* stands foremost. It is understood that one Ukkirap peruvaliti patronised eight hundred Jain scholars who came for protection as their native place was facing a severe famine. After sometime when they wanted to go back to their original place of residence, the King did not approve of it. But the Jain ascetics left that place during night time for their country. The King was upset' but when he searched their place of residence he found that they had left a verse in their respective seats, These verses were not in order and the King told the assistants to throw them in to the river. But a few leaves on which verses were written reached the shore against the current. These were

gathered and put together in the form of an anthology called *Nālaṭiyār*[51] (Nā). Various topics like *Aṛattuppāl* (*Dharma*), *Poruṭpāl* (*Artha*), *Kāmattuppāl (Kāma)* and *Mokṣa* with several sub-sections containing observations on impermanance of body and wealth, asceticism, lust, evil deeds and so on are dealt with in this anthology. This anthology of moral and ethical verses in which parallel ideas are found in Sanskrit was probably compiled in 675-700 A.D. A few verses from the Tamil work with their parallels are taken from *Subhāsitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra* (Subh.) given below :

akaṭura yār māṭṭu nillātu celvañ cakaṭakkāl pōl varum // Nā v.2.
lakṣmīr gacchati nīcair upari ca cakranemik krameṇa // Subh.

A person though his body has become old, still the desire for women does not leave him.

coṟṟaḷarntu kōlūṉṟic cōṉṯa naṭaiyinaṟāyp
paṟkaḷanṟu paṇṭam paḷikāṟu miṟceṟintu
kāma neṟi paṭaruṅ kaṇṇināṙk killaiye yema neṟi paṭarumāṟu

Nā *v.13.*

The same idea is echoed in the following verse from *Bhajagovindam*

aṅgam gaḷitam phalitam muṇḍam daśana vihīnam jātam
tuṇḍam /
vṛddho yāti gṛhītvā daṇḍam tadapi na muñcatyāśā piṇḍam

pallāvuḷuyttu viṭinuṅ kuḷakkanṟu vallatāṉ tāynāṭik kōṭalait - tollaip
paḷavinaiyu manna takaittetaṟ ceyta kiḷaanai nāṭik koḷarku

Nā. *v.101*

yathā dhenusahasreṣu vatso vindati mātaram tathā pūrvakṛtam karma
kartāram anugacchati

Subh. p.91 (v.12)

The wealth of education cannot be taken away or divided between relatives or stolen. This is the greatness of learning as depicted in the following verses:

vaippuḻik koṭpaṭā vāyt tīyiṟ keṭillai mikka ciṟappin naraśar ceṟin
vavvār
ecca menavoruvan makkaṭkuc ceyvana viccai maṟṟalla piṟa

Nā. *134*

na corahāryam na ca rājahāryam na bhrātṛbhājyam na ca bhārakāri/
vyaye kṛte vardhata eva nityam vidyādhanam sarvadhanāt
pradhānam //

Subh. p.30 (v.13)

In the following verse the necessity for picking up the essential things setting aside the unnecessary things while learning, is stressed since the life span is very short.

kalvi karaiyila kaṟpavar nāḻ cila mella ninaikkiṟ piṇi pala - teḻḻitin
ārāyṅtamaivuṭaiya kaṟpave nīroḻiyap pāluṇ kurukir ṟeṟintu //

Nā. *V. 135.*

anantapāram kila śabdaśāstram svalpam tathāyur bahavaśca vighnāḥ
yat sārabhūtam tadupāsitavyam haṁsō yathā kṣīramiva ambu-
madhyāt.
Subh. p.173 (v.879)

The observation on true friendship in *Nālaṭiyār* and the ethical and moral verses (*subhāṣitas*) in Sanskrit is noteworthy. The Tamil work *Nālaṭiyār* gives about forty verses on maintaining relationship with kinsmen, with whom one should have friendship and how one should keep away from bad association. *Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra* consists of about seventy three verses on friendship (pp. 86 - 88)

The following verses will illustrate some of the themes:

karuttuṇarṅtu kaṟṟaṟintār keṇmai yeñ ñāṉṟum
kuruttiṟ karumpu tiṉṟaṟṟe - kuruttiṟ
ketir celattiṉṟanna takaittaro venṟu matura milāḷar toṭarpu.

Nā *v. 2ll.*

ikṣor agrāt kramaśaḥ parvaṇi parvaṇi yathā rasa viśeṣaḥ /
tadvat sajjana maitri viparitānām ca viparitatā //

Subh. *p.47 (v.l08)*

The above given account will give a glimpse of the growth of the literary works both in Tamil and Sanskrit. These works like two streams running parallel to each other, influencing each other paved the way, making it wider, for the growth of literature in the two languages.

Alaṅkāra (Poetics)

Taṇṭialaṅkāram (TA)[53] (l0th Cent. or l2th Cent. A.D) is the standard work in Tamil on the science of poetics. This work is divided into three sections: *Potuaṇīyal*, *Porulaṇīyal* and *Collaṇiiyal*. This is a Tamil version of *Kavyādarśa* (KD) [54] in Sanskrit, of Daṇḍin, who lived in Kāñcipuram during the 6th - 7th cent, A.D. in Tamiḻ Nadu.

The definition of Mahākāvya is the same in both the works (KD. I.l4-l9; TA.8.) A few classifications of the verses as *muktaka*, *kulaka* etc. are also similar (KD. v.l3. TA) with a few more additions in Tamil such as *Tokainilaicceyyuḷ* etc.

Another work on the science of poetics is *Vīracoḻiyam*[55] (VC) of Buddhamitra, so named after his patron, Vīrarācendra coḻa (llth cent. A.D.) This *alaṅkara* work is based on *Kāvyādarśa* of Daṇḍin [*taṇṭi conna nūlinpaṭiye uraippan* (TA. v.l4l)]. This work is also divided into five sections : *eḻuttu*, *col*, *poruḷ*, *yāppu* and *alaṅkāra*.

The figure of speech *upamā* is dealt with in detail both in *Kāvyādarśa*[56] and *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram*. Daṇḍin gives about thirty-one varieties of *upamā* and *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāra* about forty varieties. The words expressive of similarity like *iva*, *vat*, etc are also given by Daṇḍin. *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram* also gives in a verse words expressing of similarity.[57] Two figures of speech based upon sense are given below from the Sanskrit and Tamil texts on poetics.

l) *Dīpaka*

About ten varieties are given in Kāvyādarśa (KD. II. p. 97-ll5) and eighteen in *Taṇṭi alankāram* (TA II v.40 ff. pp. 8l-92). *Vīracoḻiyam* (VC) text gives only one example and calls it as *Viḷakku* (Alaṅkārappaṭala v.l50). This *Dīpaka* figure of speech is based on the maxim *dehalī dīpanyāya* ie. just as a lamp lit and placed on the pial illuminates both inside and outside the street etc. Here also a single verb or word is used which provides the sense of both contextual and non-contexual. *Viracōḻiyam* referring to this figure as *viḷakku* gives an example (p.208) from *Tirukkuṟaḷ*.

tuṟantārkkuṇ tuvvātavarkku miṟantārkku mil vāḻvā nenpān tuṇai

Here the word *tuṇai* goes with the three phrases and provides the sense. Since this word comes in the end, this figure is called *iruti viḷakku*. This is called as *Dīpaka* by Taṇṭi. According to *Vīracōḻiyam* (l.09) three varieties of this are the *ādi*, *anta* and *madhya*.

2. *Vyatireka:* Another figure of speech from these three works, is the *Vyatireka* which is based upon a special quality of the *upamāna*, which differentiates it from the *Upameya*. *Kāvyādarśa* gives a few varieties of this figure (KD. II.180 - 98). About eleven varieties are given in *Taṇṭi alankāram* (TA II. 8 pp. 111-17) for this figure. *Vīracōḻiyam* gives eight varieties (p.247. v. 163). The following verses show clearly how close in content are the verses in Tamil and Sanskrit given as examples for this figure of speech.

anaittulakuñ cūḻ pōyarum poruḷ kaik koṇṭu
inait taḷavai teṉṟaṟ karitām - panikkaṭal
mannava nin cēnai pōn maṟṟatu nīrvativiṟ ṟennu mituvonṟe veṟu

TA (p.112) *VC.* p.247

In the above verse the king's army and the sea are compared as similar since the king gathers the boundaries of the earth by his army and the sea encircling the earth has in it the posession of the riches of the land, the difference is, the sea is in the form of water.

abhinnavelau gambhīravamburāśir bhavān api /
aśau añjanasaṅkāśas tvam tu cāmīkaradyutiḥ // *KD. II. v.183*

veṅkai vana nāṭan vicayan vāṭaikkatipa nōṅku pukaḻuṭayā tittanukku
-tāṅkukaṭa nērā menṟālu niṟattālavan ceyyan kārār niṟam akkaṭal

VC. Alaṅkārappṭala 163 (p.247)

dhairya lāvaṇya gāmbhīrya pramukhai'stvam udanvataḥ
guṇaistulyo'si, bhedastu vapuṣaivedṛśenate *KD. II. 181*

Here the king Udayāditya and the sea are compared. The difference in this is that the king possesses a glowing reddish hue whereas the sea is black.

The verse taken from *Kāvyādarśa* also conveys the same idea.

Notes and References

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3. Ibid. I. 4818 - 20., Vālmiki I. 173 ff.
4. Ibid. 5265
5. Ibid. 5291
6. Vālmiki, Sundara xxxiv.6.

7. SK. Kampan 5421
8. Valmiki, *Sundara*. sargas 61-2
9. Kampan, *Mikaippāṭalkaḷ* 487 - 501
10. *Mahābhārata: Āraṇya* Chs. 311 - 15.
11. *Villibhāratam* Āraṇya Parva vv. 55-57.
12. XIII. ii.34. *Anuśasana Parva, Mahābhārata*
13. *Periapurāṇa* 3 (pp.52 ff.)
14. *The Purāṇa* II. 1-2. pp. 225 ff.
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18. Vāṇi *Vilās Press*, Srirangam. 1911.
19. v.23. *Parañjoti* TVP. (*Tiruvilayāṭal purāṇa*) cf.13
20. *kuṟaivaṟa vaṭacoṟ colluṅ katai tamiḻk kottināle*
niṟaivuṟa naṭattutaṟku nīḻparaṅ taṭakkai ..... (v.17, p. 6)
21. See Intro. U.Ve. Sa. edn pp. 18 ff.
22. p. 29. v. 35 of Ptd. Edn *õtariy uttara mā purāṇam tannuḷuṇmai taru sārasamuccayattu muma metaku nankatai virivir kaṇṭenakku*
23. *Intiram Paḻi tirtta viḻayāṭal* (p. 29 v.35)
24. Ptd. Appendix to edn of *TVP.*, by U.Ve.Sa.
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42. *Gadyacintāmaṇi* p.69

43. *Kathāsaritsāgara*, Pañcalambaka II. 17-18 This Viṣṇustutigitā is first mentioned in the *Vāsudevahiṇdi* a Jain work and several adaptations of this episode are found in the Jain purāṇas and kāvyas.

44. *Gandharvadattaiyārilampakam* vv. 716-19.

45. *Ibid.* vv. 723, 727, 730.

46. *Jivandharacampū* pp.156-57. cf.v.62. (Jīvaka addressing the ball)

47. *Gadyacintāmaṇi* p.139

48. *Ksattracūdāmani* X. vv. 24.26.

49. cf. *Jīvandharacampū* pp.176,177. vv.ll ff. *varāhatrayaśobhita candrakayantra.*

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57. Taṇṭi II. v.35 pola māna etc. p.6l.

CHAPTER XVIII

CONCLUSION

The account given in the preceding chapters on the contribution of Tamil Nadu to Sanskrit, though a brief one, will give an idea as to how the languages Sanskrit and Tamil traversed hand in hand enriching the different fields respectively either through independent works, or adaptations or translations. Starting from the Pallava rulers who were ardent supporters of Vedic scholars upto the Maratha rulers there was no dearth of patronage. The kings themselves were interested in performing sacrifice and supported the priests.[1] The interest of the kings in literary field is also mentioned in a few inscriptions which led to the patronage of scholars.

The different philosophic systems Buddhism or Jainism, Advaita or Viśiṣṭādvaita or Śaivism all had their sway in the minds of people. Though Buddhism and Jainism started declining gradually still treatises in these fields were not found wanting. Several schools of these systems were also existing. Even major poems, *purāṇas* and philosophical treatises were composed. Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism and Advaita had a stronghold in the minds of people. The contribution of Āḻvārs and Nāyanmārs was immense, especially to the field of Bhakti.

There were original treatises or commentaries as the *Bhāṣya* on the *Brahmasūtras* by Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja, on one side: there were also the smaller tracts on subjects like *nyāsa*, *prapati* and non-eternal nature of life and such other concepts. Thus the course to be followed in life was made clear through the smaller tracts also.

Temple architecture developed in all its glory in this part of India. The *āgama* works gave rules and regulations for the building of temples, installing deities, worshipping them and conducting festivals.

We understand clearly how the epics and *purāṇas* were adapted from Sanskrit to Tamil. The account given above shows clearly that the epics like the *Bhārata* contain different versions of the same incident as for example the 'poison tank' (*naccu poikai*). The sixty four *lilas* of Śiva is totally based upon the accounts as found in Tamil Nadu.

Jainism too contributed to the field of *purāṇas*. Two *purāṇas* belonging to Jainism may be referred to here, one in Sanskrit and the other in *Maṇipravāla*. The *Merumandara purāṇa*[2] is by Mallisẹna alias Vāmana Muni. From inscriptional evidences the identity of Vāmana Muni with Mallisẹna is established. *Vande' haram vāmanācāryam Mallisẹnam munīśvaram.* This *purāṇa* deals with the lives of princes Merumandara, their previous births, their emancipation interspersed with moral maxims. *Merumantiramālai*[3], is a summary of the above *purāṇa*, giving the leading incidents of the life of Meru and Mandara, the attendants of Vimalamātha (13th Tirthaṅkara).

Śrīpurāṇa[4] by Maṇḍala pūruṣa, deals with the life story of Cakravartis Baladevas, Vāsudevas and Prativāsudevas. This is in *maṇipravāla*, a mixture of Sanskrit and Tamil. This work is similar to *Periyapurāṇa* which also deals with the lives of Nāyanmārs. In this Jain *purāṇa* as mentioned earlier the lives of the holy saints of Jainism are described.

Aruṅkalaccepu[5] is an adaptation of Ratna *Karaṇḍakaśrāvakācāra*. It is called *Peṟutarkkariya maṇikkalam peyta maṇippeṭṭakam* according to Aṭiyārkkunallar's commentary. The greatness of this work is referred to in the following verse:

tirā vinai tirkkum sddi padam uṇṭākkum
pārāy aruṅkalacceppu (180).

This is the translation of *Ratnakaraṇḍakaśravakācāra* probably written prior to 1025 A.D. Another interesting feature of this work is that it enunciates in a few verses what a treatise should deal with

caritam purāṇam aruttak jñānam
aritin uraippatu nūl
ulakin kiṭakkaiyum ūḻi nilaiyum
malaivinru uraippatu nūl
illaṟam enait tuṟavaṟam enṟivaṟṟaip
pulla uraippatu nūl
kaṭṭoṭu viṭuna uyirum piṟaporuḷum
muṭṭinṟic colvatu nūl

Thus a work should deal with the four human values and the same idea is echoed in a verse on the definition of an epic poem by Daṇḍin.

One Avirodhi Āḻvār who was a Vaiṣṇavite got converted to Jainism on hearing a discourse by Mallisẹna in a Neminātha's temple at Mylapore. He too has composed a small kāvya, *Tirumūṟṟantāti*, which is similar to *Tiruppāvai*.

iruḷāruta pūṅkuḻalir icaiyā aviroti
paricārnta pūmpunal pāyntāṭelorem pāvāy (v. 15)

This refrain *em pāvāy* shows clearly that the author's previous Vaiṣṇavite concepts have left their impressions.

Two other fields which were richly enlarged were the literary field and the *Stotra* field. Especially under the Maratha rule the growth of not only the Sanskrit language but other languages viz: Telugu, Marathi and Tamil was vast and wide. This is not surprising as the Kings were themselves good poets and well-versed in fine-arts. Several branches of literature like prose, poetry, campū, drama (in all its varieties), and history, were well developed. The staging of plays in temples, Lokanātha Bhaṭṭa's *Kandarpadar paṇabhāṇa* during Caitra festival at Srirangam, Perusūri's *Vasumaṅgala nāṭaka* at Minākṣi temple show the interest of the people and royalty in not only listening or reading kāvyas but their desire to see them on the stage.

A few allegorical plays were also written. *Sankalpasūryodaya* of Desika, *Amunitipariṇaya*, *Jivanmukti kalyāṇa* of Nallā Dikṣita belong to this category which are referred to in the section on literature. Thus all varieties of Sanskrit dramas were written.

Anandaraṅga campū of Śrinivāsa kavi and *Sarvadeva vilāsa* of unknown authorship are two literary works worth noticing here. The former gives an historical account of the Dubhash Ānandaraṅgam Pillai under French rule and the second one gives an account of the chief citizens of Madras who patronised scholars and musicians.

Another important observation to be made here is that the commentators on the epics were probably adepts in research methodology also. The references to Uḍāli who wrote commentaries on the epics the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata* and also Govindarāja makes this clear. They were careful enough to choose the correct reading, by going through several maṇuscripts, for commenting on the text.

Last but not the least is how a scholar born in Goa, with a strong determination came to India, studied Sanskrit and Tamil and led a simple life and wrote works in these languages.

Robert de Nobili[6], born in 1577, came to India in 1605. He was known also as *Tattuva Pōtakar*. He stayed at Madurai, studied Tamil as well as Telugu and wrote works in those languages. He was the first European to learn Sanskrit, speak fluently and write books in it. The following his available works in Sanskrit are:

(1) *Kristu Gitāḥ*
(2) *Kristu mata Granthaḥ*
(3) Marriage prayers
(4) *Punar Jenma Akṣtebam*
(5-6) *Satya Veda Sāra Saṅgraham*
(7) *Life of Gur Lady*

The mutual impact of Sanskrit and Tamil is also immense as we find the *lilas* of Śaṅkara featuring in Tamil and Sanskrit works like *Tiruviḷaiyāṭal purāṇa* and *Śivalilārṇana* or *Jivaka's story*. Even works on poetics like *Taṇṭialaṅkāra* and *Vīracōḻiyam* and *Kavyādarśa* prove the impact on one another. To conclude, this survey given here is a brief one which encompasses within its field almost all the major works that were written between 7th - 18th cent. A.D. The variety of the works is amazing. This may to a certain extent show the interest evinced both by the royalty and scholars to keep the lamp of Sanskrit and Tamil glowing in all its splendour.

Notes and References

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2. Chakravarti, *Jain Lit. in Tamil.* p. 22
3. MT. III. Pt. 2. 329 (Tamil.)
4. Ed. V. Venkatrajulu Reddiar. *Madras University Tamil Dept. Pub.* II, Madras 1943.
5. Ed. K. Sukumaran, 1960.
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APPENDIX

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF POETS

Ratnakheṭa Śrīnivasa Dīkṣita family

Bhavasvāmin
|
Śrī Kṛṣṇa
|
Kumāra Bhavasvāmin
|
Śrī Kṛṣṇārya
|
Bhavasvāmin + Lakṣmī

RATNAKHEṬA ŚRĪNIVASA DĪKṢITA FAMILY
(15th cent. - 16th cent. A.D.)

Keśava Dīkṣita	Ardhanāriśvara	Yajñanārāyaṇa or Rājacūḍāmaṇi Dīkṣita	Daughter + Appayya Dīkṣita

Keśava Dīkṣita
|
Patañjali
|
Keśava Dīkṣita
|
Rāmacandra
|
Keśava Dīkṣita
|
Yajñavedeśvara
|
Keśava
|
Yajñavedeśvara
|
Bālacandra
|
Bālayajñavedeśvara
(Commentary *Maukṭikamālikā* on *Rukmiṇīpariṇaya* of Rājacūḍāmaṇi Dīkṣita 1833 A.D.)

MULLANDRUM FAMILY

Aruṇagirinātha (1422 - 50 A.D.)

Rājanātha and Durgā

Daughter + Svayambhūnātha

Gururāmakavi (cent. 1600 A.D.)
(author of *Ratneśvara prasādana* etc.).

Aruṇagirinātha
(16th cent.)
(Ṣaḍbhāṣāsārva - bhauma, Kumāra Diṇḍima and Kavirājarāja)

GOVINDA DĪKṢITA (16th cent.)

(Minister of Cevvappa Nāyaka)

Yajñanārāyaṇa Dīkṣita

Veṅkaṭeśvara Dīkṣita

(pupil)
Rājacūḍāmaṇi Dīkṣita
(son of Ratnakheṭa)

(DIKṢITA FAMILY)

Āccān Dīkṣita

Raṅgarāja Adhvarin

Āccān Dīkṣita

Appayya Dīkṣita II

Nārāyaṇa

Atīrāttrayajvan

Appayya Dīkṣita III
(Cinna Appayya)

Appayya Dīkṣita (1552-1624 A.D.)
(patronised by Cinna Timma, Cinna Bomma and Veṅkaṭapati rāya)
(1585 - 1614 A.D.)

Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita (17th cent.)

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